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Studies in Eastern History.

III.

CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY BABYLONIAN KINGS:

VOL. II. TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

STUDIES IN EASTERN HISTORY.

Vol. I.—RECORDS OF THE REIGN OF TUKULTI-NINIB I, KING OF ASSYRIA, edited from a memorial tablet in the British Museum.

Vol. II.—CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY BABYLONIAN KINGS, including records of the early history of the Kassites and the Country of the Sea. Vol. i, Introductory chapters.

Vol. III.—CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY BABYLONIAN KINGS, including records of the early history of the Kassites and the Country of the Sea. Vol. ii, Texts and Translations.

[Other volumes are in preparation.]

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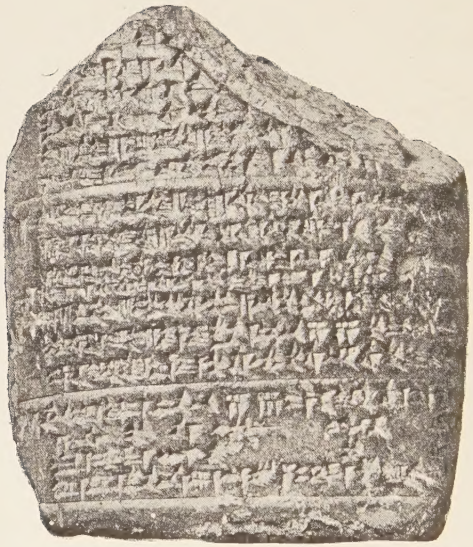

A Babylonian Chronicle, which records an early Invasion of Northern Babylonia by the Hittites, and supplies data for establishing the true chronological order of the first three Dynasties of the List of Kings.

[No. 96152, Reverse.]

Studies in Eastern History.

CHRONICLES

CONCERNING

EARLY BABYLONIAN KINGS,

INCLUDING

RECORDS OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KASSITES AND THE COUNTRY OF THE SEA,

EDITED BY

L. W. KING, M.A., F.S.A.,

ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. II.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

LONDON

LUZAC AND Co.

1907.

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PREFACE.

In this volume are published a number of Babylonian chronicles and other documents of a similar character, which are discussed in the series of introductory chapters forming the first volume of the work. The texts, which are here published for the first time, are preserved in the British Museum, and may be briefly enumerated. They consist of—

(1) A chronicle concerning Sargon and Narâm-Sin, and other early Babylonian and Assyrian rulers. This chronicle contains part of the original composition from which the historical portions of the "Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin" were derived; it also furnishes a synchronism in early Babylonian and Assyrian history, which affects the arrangement of the chronology of both countries.

(2 A chronicle concerning early Babylonian and Assyrian rulers, which forms a continuation of that concerning Sargon and Narâm-Sin. It repeats the story of Ura-imitti and Bêl-ibni, which has survived, with certain differences of name, in the history of Agathias; and it supplies in the form of synchronisms some valuable material for settling the chronology of the earlier Babylonian dynasties. It proves that the so-called "Second Dynasty" never ruled at Babylon, but only in "the Country of the Sea" on the shores of the

945 i 0

Persian Gulf; and it throws light on the causes which brought the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi to an end. The fall of this dynasty we may now trace to the exhausting wars carried on by its later kings, but more especially to the Hittite invasion in the reign of Samsuditana. The chronicle also records the Kassite conquest of southern Babylonia.

(3) Part of a Neo-Babylonian version of the "Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin," the historical sections of which agree more nearly with the new chronicle than with the Assyrian version of the "Omens."

(4) Part of a new Babylonian chronicle, containing a collection of extracts from a longer text. The portion of the chronicle which is preserved refers to events ranging from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C. In some respects it resembles the "Synchronous History" of Babylonia and Assyria.

(5) Part of a Babylonian religious chronicle and register of portents, which took place in the eleventh century B.C., and possibly include the record of a solar eclipse.

(6) A new Date-List of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which, though not strictly a chronicle, furnishes historical information in the date-formulae which it supplies.

Of four texts new editions are here given. Thus the small Date-List of the First Dynasty of Babylon, which is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Con-

stantinople, is here republished, since my copy of the tablet, made in the winter of 1902, differs in several particulars from the published editions of the text. A new edition of the Babylonian Dynastic Chronicle is also here included, which gives a number of new readings and replaces the two smaller fragments of the text in their correct positions. Finally, for comparison with the Chronicle of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, the Assyrian version of the "Omens" and the "Legend of Sargon" are here republished and translated.

In the Preface to the first volume of this work (Vol. II of the series) a short account is given of the chief problems which are raised or solved by the new texts, and further reference to them here is therefore needless. For a full discussion of the information supplied by the new chronicles the reader is referred to the introductory chapters printed in that volume, which deal, approximately in chronological order, with the events recorded in the texts. In the "Index to Registration-Numbers" at the end of the present volume references are given to the chapters in which the different chronicles and other compositions here published are discussed.

L. W. KING.

LONDON,
March 30th, 1907.

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I.

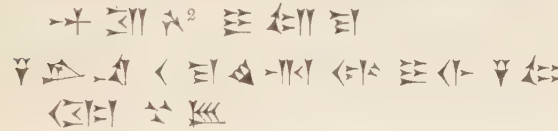
TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

I.

A Chronicle concerning Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Kings of Agade, and other early Babylonian and Assyrian Rulers.

[No. 26472.][1]

Obv.



1. Sargon, king of Agade, through the royal gift of Ishtar[2] was exalted,
2. and he possessed no foe nor rival. His glory over the world

1. ^{m}Šarru-ukîn šar Ak-ga-de^{ki} ina palî ^{ilu}Iš-tar^{2} i-lam-ma
2. ša-ni-na u ma-ḫi-ri ul i-ši ša-lum-mat-su eli mâtâti^{hl}

[1] The tablet is completely preserved with the exception of the bottom right-hand corner and two broken signs upon the reverse; it measures 2¾ in. in breadth, and 3⅜ in. in length. For a detailed comparison of the text of the obverse, and of the first section of the reverse, with the Omens of Sargon and Naram-Sin, see Vol. I, chap. II. The sections referring to Dungi, and to Ura-imitti and Bêl-ibni, are discussed in Vol. I, chap. III.

[2] The phrase *ina palî ^{ilu}Iš-tar* is probably not to be taken as meaning "through Ishtar's insignia of royalty," but as "through the insignia of royalty bestowed by Ishtar."

Obv.

3.

4.

5.

6.

3. he poured out. The Sea in the East[1] he crossed,
4. and in the eleventh year[2] the Country of the West in its full extent his hand subdued.
5. He united them under one control; he set up his images in the West;
6. their booty he brought over at (his) word.[3]

3. *it-bu-uk tâmta ina ṣît Šamši*[1] *i-bi-ir-ma*
4. *šattu* XI^{KAN2} *mât erêb Šamši a-di ki-ti-šu ḳât-su ikšud(ud)*
5. *pi-i-šu a-na iš-tin u-kin ṣalmâni*^{pl}*-šu ina erêb Šamši uš-zi-iz*
6. *šal-lat-su-nu ina a-ma-a-ti*[3] *u-še-bi-ra*[4]

[1] For a discussion of this interesting variant to the text of the Omens, see Vol. I, chap. II.

[2] The "eleventh year" may probably be taken to mean the eleventh year of Sargon's reign. The reading of the Omens may be explained as implying that it took Sargon three years to complete his subjugation of the Country of the West.

[3] The Omens read *ina mâti tâmti*, "in the Country of the Sea," in place of *ina a-ma-a-ti*. The former is preferable to the emendation *ina amâtišu*, "at his word;" see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

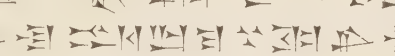
[4] The first six lines of the text correspond to the historical extract in the seventh section of the Omens (K. 2130, Obv., ll. 22–26).

Obv.

7.

8. [1]

9.

10.  [2]

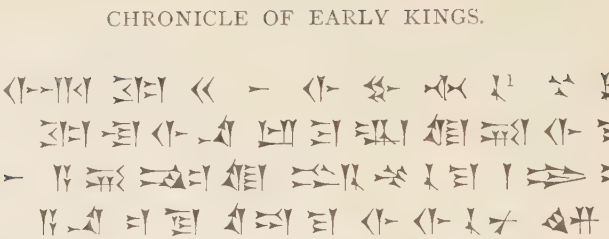
7. The sons of his palace for five *kasbu* (around) he settled,
8. and over the hosts of the world he reigned supreme.[1]
9. Against Kaṣalla he marched, and he turned Kaṣalla into mounds and heaps of ruins;
10. he destroyed (the land and left not) enough for a bird to rest thereon.[2]

7. *mâre*^{pl} *ekalli-šu a-na* V *kas-bu* $^{TA\cdot A\ AN}$ *u-še-šib-ma*
8. *um-mat mâtâti*^{pl} *mit-ḫa-riš i-be-el*[1]
9. *a-na* ^{mâtu}*Ka-ṣal-la it-lik-ma* ^{mâtu}*Ka-ṣal-la ana tili u kar-me u-tir*
10. *ina lib-bi-šu man-za-az iṣ-ṣur u-ḫal-liḳ*[2]

[1] Ll. 7 and 8 correspond to the eighth section of the Omens (K. 2130, Obv., ll. 28 and 29). The sense of the two passages appears to be entirely different, but they may be reconciled on the supposition that each has retained details given in the original text which the other omits; see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

[2] Ll. 9 and 10 correspond to the ninth section of the Omens (K. 2130, Obv., ll. 31–34, and No. 67404, Obv., ll. 1–4). The phrase in l. 10 is elliptical; it implies that the destruction of the land was so complete that it included even so much of it as a bird might perch upon.

Obv.



11. Afterwards in his old age[1] all the lands revolted against him,[2]
12. and they besieged him in Agade; and Sargon went forth to battle and defeated them;
13. he accomplished their overthrow, and their wide-spreading host he destroyed.[3]

11. *ar-ka-niš ina ši-bu-ti-šu*[1] *mâtâti*[ḪI] *ka-li-ši-na ib-ba-al-ki-ta-ši-ma*[2]
12. *ina A-ga-de*[KI] *il-mu-šu-ma* [m]*Šarru-ukîn a-na kakki uṣi-ma abikta-šu-nu im-ḫaṣ*
13. *ka-mar-šu-nu iš-kun um-man-šu-nu rapaštim(tim) u-šam-ki-it*[3]

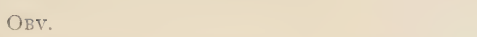
---

[1] The Omens have entirely altered the sense of the following passage by reading *ši-bu-ti* in place of *ina ši-bu-ti-šu* and making it the subject of the verb *ibbalkitû*.

[2] The object of the verb is obviously Sargon, but it will be noticed that in the text the feminine form of the 3rd pers. sing. of the pronominal suffix is employed; it may be taken as referring to *šibûtu*. In the Omens the masculine form is given.

[3] Ll. 11–13 correspond to the tenth section of the Omens (K. 2130, Obv., l. 36–Rev., l. 2, and No. 67404, Obv., ll. 5–11).

OBV.

14. 

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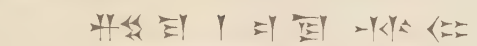
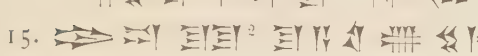
16. 

17. 

14. Afterwards he attacked the land of Subartu in his might, and they submitted[1] to his arms,

15. and Sargon settled that revolt,[2] and defeated them ;

16. he accomplished their overthrow, and their wide-spreading host he destroyed,

17. and he brought their possessions into Agade.[3]

14. *arki ana* ^{mâtu}*Subartu*^{KI} *ina gi-ib-ši-šu itbi-ma ana kakki ik-mi-is-su-ma*[1]

15. *Šarru-ukîn dalâḫu*[2] *šu-a-tu u-šc-šib-ma abikta-šu-nu im-ḫaṣ*

16. *ka-mar-šu-nu iš-kun um-man-šu-nu rapaštim(tim) u-šam-ki-it*

17. *makkur-šu-nu a-na A-ga-de*^{KI} *u-še-ri-ba*[3]

---

[1] The verb *ik-mi-is-su* is probably not the 3rd pers. plur. (*ikmisû*), but the 3rd pers. sing. with the 3rd masc. sing. pronominal suffix (= *ikmis-šu*). The subject of the verb is the land of Subartu.

[2] For *da'âḫu šu-a-tu* the Omens read *subâtiš-šu-nu*, a reading which does not suit the context so well, and was probably due to a copyist's mistake. The sign , if carelessly written with a space in the centre, might easily be misread as .

[3] Ll. 14-17 correspond to the eleventh section of the Omens (K. 2130,

OBV.

18.

19.

20.

18. The soil from the trenches of Babylon he removed,
19. and the boundaries of Agade he made like those of Babylon.[1]
20. But because of the evil which he had committed[2] the great lord Marduk was angry,

18. *e-pi-ir e-si-e ša Bâbili*^{KI} *is-suḫ-ma*
19. *i-te-e A-ga-de*^{KI} *gab-ri Bâbili*^{KI} *i-pu-uš*[1]
20. *a-na maruštа i-pu-šu*[2] *bêlu rabû(u)* ^{ilu}*Marduk i-gu-ug-ma*

Rev., ll. 5–9, and No. 67404, Rev., ll. 1–7). Ll. 20–23 of the text are not represented by any section in the Omens. It is possible that some connection may be traced between the third section of the Omens (K. 2130, Obv., ll. 8–11) and ll. 18 and 19 of the text, for certain points of similarity between them suggest that they had a common origin; see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

[1] This phrase may possibly be taken to mean that he included both Agade and Babylon within the boundary of his kingdom. It is more probable, however, that we should regard it as implying that he increased the boundaries of Agade, making them as large as those of Babylon.

[2] For other examples of the omission of *ša* in a relative clause, see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 147 (2).

Obv.

Rev.

Obv.

21. and he destroyed his people by famine.
22. From the rising of the Sun unto the setting of the Sun
23. they opposed him and gave [him] no rest.

Rev.

1. Narâm-Sin, the son of Sargon, [marched] against the city of Apirak,
2. and he constructed mines (against it), and Rîsh-Ad[ad],

Obv.

21. *ina ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu niši^{pl}-šu ig-mu-ur*
22. *ul-tu ṣi-it ^{itu}Šamši(ši) a-di e-rib ^{itu}Šamši(ši)*
23. *ik-ki-ru-šu-ma la ṣa-la-la i-mi-id-[su]*

Rev.

1. *^{m}Na-ra-am-^{itu}Sin mâr^{m}Šarru-ukîn a-na^{alu}A-pi-rak[^{ki} il-lik-ma]*
2. *pi-il-šu ip-lu-uš-ma ^{m}Ri-iš-^{itu}Ad[ad]*

Rev.

3.

4.

3. the king of Apirak, and the governor[1] of Apirak his hand sub[dued].[2]
4. He marched against Magan, and Mannu-dannu,[3] the king of Magan, [his hand subdued].[4]

3. *šar* $^{\text{KI}}$*A-pi-rak*$^{\text{KI}}$ *u* $^{\text{amelu}}$*sukkal*[1] *A-pi-rak*$^{\text{KI}}$ *ḳât-su ik*[*šud*(*ud*)][2]
4. *ana Ma-gan-na*$^{\text{KI}}$ *il-lik-ma* $^{\text{m}}$*Man-nu-da-an-nu*[3] *šar Ma-gan*$^{\text{KI}}$ [*ḳât-su ikšud*(*ud*)][4]

[1] On the tablet the sign occurs under an unusual form, all four vertical wedges being the same size and the two horizontal wedges being carried through them. It is possible that the scribe wrote the sign as by mistake. That is the correct reading is certain from the reading of the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens; the Assyrian version preserves the end of the sign as , *i.e.*, (see K. 2130, Rev., l. 14).

[2] Ll. 1–3 of the reverse correspond to the twelfth section of the Omens (K. 2130, Rev., ll. 11–14, and No. 67404, Rev., ll. 8–11).

[3] Mannu-dannu is clearly to be identified with Maniu[m], whose name has recently been found as that of a "lord" of Magan in an inscription on the base of a statue of Naram-Sin found at Susa (see *Délégation en Perse*, Mém., VI (1905), pp. 2 ff.); see further, Vol. I, Chap. II.

[4] This line of the text corresponds to the thirteenth section of the Omens (K. 2130, Rev., ll. 16–18, and No. 67404, Rev., ll. 12 ff.).

Rev.

5.

6.

7.

5. Dungi, the son of Ur-Engar, cared greatly for the city of Eridu, which was on the shore of the sea.

6. But he sought after evil, and the treasure of Esagila and of Babylon

7. he brought out as spoil. And Bêl was [. . . .],[1] and body and . . . . . he made an end of him.[2]

5. *^{m}Dun-gi mâr ^{m}Ur-^{kal}Engur Eridu^{ki} ša kišad tam-tim ra-biš iz-nun*

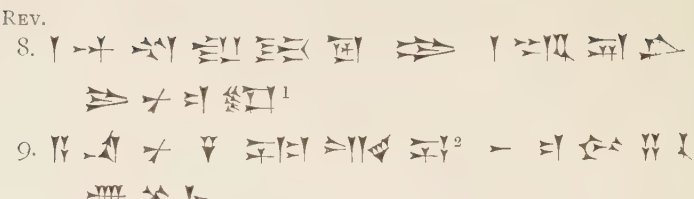
6. *limutta iš-te-'-e-ma makkur E-sag-ila u Bâbili^{ki}*

7. *ina šil-lat ušêṣi ^{ilu}Bêl* ŠI-[. . .][1]*-ma ^{amêlu}šalamta-šu u ša-kil* KAK(*tu*) *uḳattu-šu*[2]

[1] The traces of the sign following are probably those of ; the reading is the only other possible one.

[2] The phrases in the second half of the line are obscure, but they certainly describe the evil fate of Dungi at the hands of Marduk, whose wrath had been roused by his impious treatment of Esagila. In a Neo-Babylonian text must be taken as the copula, and not phonetically as the first syllable of a word; it is possible that the text is corrupt and that the scribe carefully copied the signs as he found them on his original.

Rev.



8. Ura-imitti, the king, set Bêl-ibni, the gardener,[1]
9. upon his throne, that (the dynasty) might not come to an end;[2]
10. and the crown of his sovereignty[3] he placed upon his head,

8. *$^{m\ ilu}$Ura(ra)-imitti šarru $^{m\ ilu}$Bêl-ibni amêl urḳi* [1]
9. *a-na lî šakân* SAG-GIL(*e*)[2] *ina kussî-šu u-še-šib*
10. *agâ šarru-ti-šu*[3] *ina ḳaḳḳadi-šu iš-ta-kan*

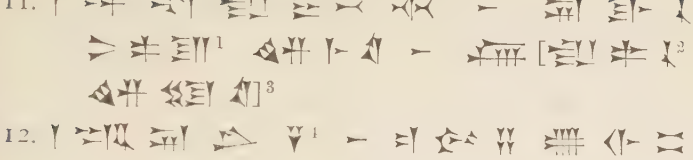
---

[1] This section of the text (ll. 8–13), which is repeated on No. 96152, Obv., ll. 1–7 (see below, p. 15 f.), gives the Babylonian form of the story of Beleous and Beletaras, which has hitherto been known only from the history of Agathias II, 25 (*cf.* ed. Dindorf, p. 222). For a discussion of the names and for a comparison of the Greek with the Babylonian version of the story, see Vol. I, chap. III.

[2] The suggested rendering of this phrase is conjectural. The ideogram is possibly a variant form of Brünnow, No. 3556, which has the meaning *piḫû*, "to shut, to close," in which case it should be transliterated in the text as *piḫê*(*e*).

[3] No. 96152 reads *šarru-u-ti-šu*.

REV



11. Ura-imitti in his palace . . . . . [. . . . . died [2]].[3]
12. Bêl-ibni, who [4] sat upon the throne, did not arise (therefrom),
13. but as king he was established.

11. *[m] [ilu] Ura(ra)-i-mit-ti ina ekalli-šu pap-pa-su*[1] *im-meḫiṣ ina sa-r[a-pi-šu*[2] *im-tu-ut]*[3]
12. *[m] [ilu] Bêl-ibni ša*[4] *ina kussî u-ši-bi ul it-bi*
13. *a-na šarru-u-ti it-taš-kan*

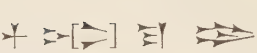
[1] No. 96152 *pap-pa-si*.

[2] *Sa-ra-pi-šu* we may possibly connect with *sirapu*, *arpu*, "shears," and render the phrase at the end of the line "he died by his own weapon"; it may also be an infinitive describing his action at the time of his death. The reading *pap-pa-su* is preferable to *ku-pa-su* (var. *si*), but its usual meaning does not suit the context. I owe to a suggestion of Prof. Zimmern the rendering of *tûbi* in l. 12 with the meaning "to arise, to rise up" (*cf.* Jensen, *Keilins. Bibl.*, VI, p. 306).

[3] Restored from No. 96152.

[4] Omitted by No. 96152.

Rev.

14.  [1]

14. Ilu-shûma, king of Assyria, against Su-abu.[1]

14. *m Ilu-šu[m]-ma šar mâtu Aššur a-na tar-ṣi m Su-a-bu* [1]

---

[1] For a full discussion of this catch-line and of the synchronism it supplies between early Assyrian and Babylonian history, see Vol. I, chap. V. In the blank space on the lower half of the reverse, below the catch-line, are inscribed the characters . The first of these signs is made up of the archaic form of , the ideogram for *amêlu*, "man," written twice, the second time reversed; *cf.* Brünnow, No. 6422 (= *ip-pi-ra*) and *Cun. Texts*, XI, pl. 43, K. 15034, l. 5. (= *ti-ṣi-e-..*). It may be noted that *bârû*, "magician, soothsayer," but it is unlikely that has this meaning in the phrase upon the tablet. It is more probable that the first of the signs consists of a device for distinguishing the series to which the document belonged; and, as *ippêru* had some such meaning as "overthrow, downfall" (*cf.* Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 116), we may perhaps trace in the composite ideogram a reference to the contents of the tablets which were concerned with the strife of early kings. Possibly the text of these chronicles had been handed down from a remote period; and while the archaic signs of the early tablets had been transformed in course of time to those current in the Neo-Babylonian period, the archaic form may have been retained in the case of the rare sign which gave the title of the work. On this supposition we may see in the second sign, , the numeral "two," indicating that the tablet was the second one of the series.

II.

A Continuation of the Chronicle concerning early Babylonian Rulers.

[No. 96152.][1]

Obv.

1. [Ura-imitti, the king],[2] set Bêl-ibni, the gardener,
2. upon his throne, [that (the dynasty) might not come to an end],

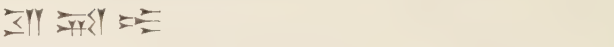
1. [^{m} ^{id}*Ura(ra)-imitti šarru* ^{m}][2] ^{id}*Bêl-ibni amêl urḳi*
2. [*a-na là šakân* SAG-GIL](*e*) *ina kussî-šu u-še-šib*

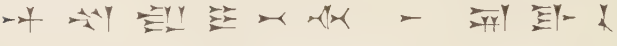
[1] The tablet measures 2¼ in. in breadth and 2½ in. in length. The lower part of the tablet is wanting; when complete it must have measured about 3 in. or 3¼ in. in length. The surface of the obverse has suffered considerably, but most of the signs on the reverse are well preserved.

[2] Ll. 1 and 2 are restored from No. 26472, Rev., ll. 8 and 9. The first seven lines of the text, giving the story of Ura-imitti and Bêl-ibni, are duplicate of No. 26472, Rev., ll. 8–13; see above, p. 12 f. For a discussion of these lines and their connection with the story of Belcous and Beletaras in Agathias, see Vol. I, chap. III.

Obv.

3.

4. 

5. 

6.

7.

3. and the crown of his sovereignty he placed upon his head.
4. Ura-imitti in his palace .....
5. ..... died.
6. Bêl-ibni sat upon the throne, and did not arise (therefrom);
7. and as king he was established.

3. [*a*]*gâ šarru-u-ti-šu ina ḳaḳḳadi-šu iš-ta-kan*
4. *m ilu Ura(ra)-i-mit-ti ina ekalli-šu pap-pa-si im-me-ḫiṣ*
5. *ina sa-ra-pi-šu im-tu-ut*
6. *m ilu Bêl-ibni ina kussî u-ši-bi ul it-bi*
7. *a-na šarru-u-ti it-taš-kan*

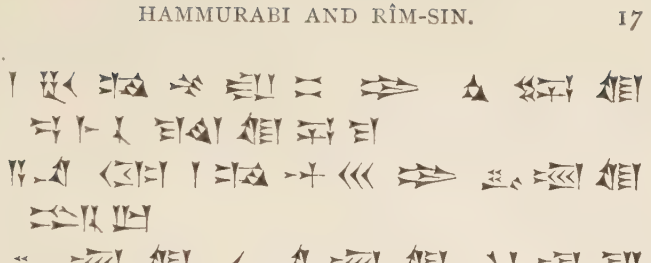
[1] This sign is omitted by No. 26472.

[2] No. 26472 *pap-pa-su*.

[3] For a discussion of this and other obscure phrases which occur in ll. 1–7, see above, p. 13.

[4] No. 26472 here inserts the relative *ša*.

Obv.

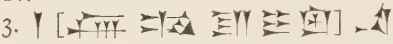


8. Hammurabi, king of Babylon, summoned his forces,
9. and against Rim-Sin, king of Ur, he marched.
10. The cities of Ur and of Larsa his hand conquered,
11. and he took their possessions unto Babylon.
12. [. . . . .] he overthrew [. . . . .] he carried away.[1]

8. *^{m}Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi šar Bâbili^{KI} ummâni^{pl}-šu id-ki-e-ma*
9. *a-na eli ^{m}Rîm-^{ilu}Sin šar Uru^{KI} il-lik*
10. *Uru^{KI} u Larsam^{KI} ḳa-at-su ik-šu-ud*
11. *b[u]-š[a]-š[u]-nu a-na Bâbili^{KI} il-ḳa-a*
12. [. . . . .]^{KI} *is-ḫup* [. . . . .]^{KI} *u-bil-l[a]*[1]

[1] For a discussion of the relations of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna with Rîm-Sin, see Vol. I, chaps. III and VI.

OBV.

13. 

14. [. . . . .] [. . . . .]

15. [. . . . .]

16. [. . . . .]

17. [. . . . .]

13. [Samsu-il]una, king of Babylon, the son of Hammurabi, the king,

14. [. . . . .]..[. . . . .], and

15. [. . . . .]... Rîm-Sin unto [. . . . .] marched

16. [. . . . .] his hand conquered.

17. [. . . . .] him[1] alive in the palace [. . . . .]

13. *^{m}[Sa-am-su-i-l]u-na šar Bâbili^{KI} mâr ^{m}Ḫa-[am-mu-ra-bi ša]rri*

14. [. . . . . *-b]u-tu* [. . . . .]*-e-ma*

15. [. . . . .]*-zu-na-a ^{m}Rîm-^{ilu}Sin ana*[. . . . .] *illik(i[k])*

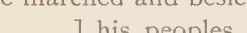
16. [. . . . .] *kât-su ikšud[(ud)]*

17. [. . . . .] *bal-ṭu-ut-su*[1] *ina ekalli* [. . . . .]

---

[1] From the fact that Samsu-iluna is referred to in the first section preserved upon the reverse of the tablet, it is clear that he was the victor in his struggle with Rîm-Sin, and that it was the latter king who was captured, or burnt alive, in his palace, as described in this line.

OBV.

18. [. . . . .] 

19. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

REV.

[. . . . .]

1. [[. . . . .][2]

OBV.

18. [. . . . .] he marched and besieged [. . . . .]

19. [. . . . .] his peoples [. . . . .]

20. [. . . . .]

REV.

[. . . . .]

1. [Iluma]-ilu[1] [. . . . .][2]

OBV.

18. [. . . . .] *illik-ma il-mi* [. . . . .]

19. [. . . . .] *nišê*^{pl}*-šu*[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

REV.

[. . . . .]

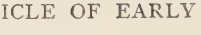
1. [^{m}*Ilu-ma*]*-ilu*[1] *ma-*[. . . . .][2]

---

[1] Iluma-ilu was the first king of the Second Dynasty of the Kings' List. This section of the text and the one that follows it prove that he was the contemporary of Samsu-iluna and Abêshu', the seventh and eighth kings of the First Dynasty, and that the First and Second Dynasties were partly contemporaneous. The effects of this new information upon current schemes of Babylonian chronology are fully discussed in Vol. I, chap. IV.

[2] In l. 1 there is a slight trace above the signs and which may possibly be that of a division-line. In that case l. 1 would be the first of

Rev.

2. [. . .]  [. . . . . .]

3. [. . . . . .]

4. [. . . . . .]

5. [. . . . .]

6. [1] [. . . . .]

2. [. . . . .] . . he made [. . . . . .]
3. he waged war against him and [. . . . . .]
4. their dead bodies the sea [. . . . . .]
5. Samsu-iluna again marched [against . . . . . .]
6. Iluma-ilu advanced to the attack, and the defeat of the forces [1] of [. . . . . he accomplished].

2. [. . . . . *-m*]*e-e ib-na* [. . . . .]
3. *ṣal-tu a-na libbi-šu epuš-m*[*a* . . . . .]
4. *amêlu pagrê^{pl}-šu-nu tam-tim* [. . . . .]
5. *iš-ni-ma* ^{m}*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ana* [. . . . .]
6. ^{m}*Ilu-ma-ilu itba-am-ma abikti ummâni^{pl}* [1] [. . . . .]

the section and would begin at the edge of the tablet, and there would be more than three signs wanting at the beginning of the line. But as there would not be room for the restoration [*ana tar-ṣi* ^{m}*Ilu-ma*]*-ilu*, it is preferable to suppose that l. 1 is not the first of the section and that there is nothing wanting in that line before the proper name.

[1] These characters are broken; they are not quite certain. The traces might possibly be taken for those of the sign .

REV.

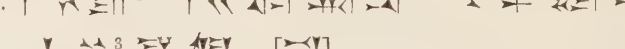
7. Abishi,[1] the son of Samsu-iluna, to conquer Iluma-ilu [. . . . .],
8. and his heart prompted him to dam the Tigris.
9. And he dammed the Tigris, but he caught not Iluma-ilu.

7. *^{m}A-bi-ši[1] mâr ^{m}Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ka-šad ^{m}Ilu-ma-ilu i[š- . . . . . -m]a*
8. *^{nâru}Idiglat a-na si-ki-ri lib-ba-šu ub-lam-ma*
9. *^{nâru}Idiglat iṣ-kir-ma ^{m}Ilu-ma-ilu ul [iṣ-ba]t*

[1] *I.e.*, Abêshu', the eighth king of the First Dynasty.

REV.

10.

11. 

10. Against[1] Shamash-ditana[2] the men of the land of Khatti [marched], against the land[3] of Akkad.

11. Ea-gamil,[4] king of the Country of the Sea, [set out] against the land of Elam;

10. *ana tar-[ṣi]*[1] *ᵐ Šamaš-di-ta-na*[2] *ᵐᵃᵗᵘ Ḫat-tu-u ana ᵐᵃᵗᵘ*[3] *Akkadû*ᴷᴵ *[illik]*

11. *ᵐ ⁱˡᵘ E-a-ga-mil*[4] *šar mât tam-tim a-na ᵐᵃᵗᵘ Elamtu*ᴷᴵ *[il-li-ku-m]a*

[1] The tablet reads , which is probably the scribe's mistake for . The whole section had been omitted by the scribe in error, and he inserted it afterwards, writing it over the division-line. It is probable that the section was longer on the tablet which he copied, and described the result of this early invasion of the Hittites. But the scribe had only room to insert one line, so he copied the first line to indicate the subject of the section, and was forced by want of space to omit the rest. For a discussion of the invasion and its results, see Vol. I, chap. VI.

[2] *I.e.*, Samsu-ditana, the eleventh and last king of the First Dynasty.

[3] See below, p. 26, n. 1.

[4] Ea-gamil was the last king of the Second Dynasty of the Kings' List.

Rev.

12.

13.

---

12. and in pursuit of him Ulam-Bur(i)ash,[1] the brother of Bitiliash,[2] the Kassite,

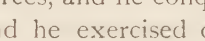
13. summoned his forces, and he conquered the Country of the Sea, and he exercised dominion over the land.

---

12. *arki-šu* ^{m}*U-lam-Bur-aš*[1] *aḫ* ^{m}*Bi-til-ia-aš*[2] ^{mâtu}*Kaš-šu-u*

13. *ummâni-šu id-ki-e-ma mât tam-tim ikšud(ud) bêlu-ut mâti i-pu-uš*

---

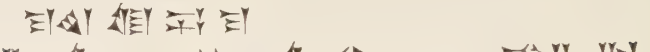
[1] The name of Ulam-Buriash occurs in the explanatory List of Kings, K. 4426 + R. 617, Obv., Col. I (see *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, Vol. V, pl. 44, l. 25 *a* and *b*), where the name is written as  , "*U-lam-Bur-ia-a-aš*, and explained as the equivalent in Babylonian of "*Li-dan-bêl-mâtâti*. It occurs also under the form *U-la-Bu-ra-ri-ia-aš* on a stone knob from Babylon, where this king terms himself "king of the Country of the Sea" (see Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 7, pl. 1, no. 3). For a discussion of this section of the chronicle, see Vol. I, chap. IV.

[2] The scribe has written for , omitting one of the wedges by mistake.

REV.

14.

15.

16. 

17.

14. Agum,[1] the son of Bitiliash, summoned his forces,
15. and marched against the Country of the Sea.
16. He conquered the city of Dûr-Ea,[2]
17. and E-. . .[3]-uruna, the temple of the god Ea in (the city of) Dûr-Ea, he razed to the ground.[4]

14. *^{m}A-gu-um*[1] *mâr ^{m}Bi-til-ia-aš ummâni-šu id-ki-e-ma*
15. *a-na mât tam-tim il-lik*
16. *^{alu}Dûr-^{ilu}Ea*[2] *ikšud(ud)*
17. *E-. . .*[3]*-uru-na bît ^{ilu}Ea ša Dûr-Ea u-šal-pit*[4]

[1] For a discussion as to whether we may identify this ruler with Agum I or Agum II, see Vol. I, chap. IV.

[2] The sign was employed as an ideogram for the names of Bêl and Ninib as well as of Ea (*cf.* Brünnow, Nos. 10036-10038). The close connection of the god Ea with the Country of the Sea renders the reading of his name in the present passage more probable than that of either of the other gods.

[3] The phonetic value of the sign (= *milku*, "counsel") is uncertain (cf. *Cun. Txts.*, XII, pl. 34, Col. I, l. 13). For the group (URU-NA = *uranakku*), *cf.* Brunnow, No. 6444. The meaning of the name of the temple must have signified something like "The temple of Counsel from the Shrine."

[4] The text covers the whole of the reverse of the tablet. The line closing the last section is ruled at the bottom of the reverse, and is not followed by any catch-line, colophon, or title.

III.

The Historical Portions of the Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Kings of Agade.

[K. 2130.][1]

Obv.

§ I, 1. [ ]

§ I, 1. [. . . . .[2] Sar]gon, who under this omen

§ I, 1. [. . . . .[2] *Šarru*]-*ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i*

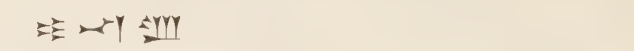
---

[1] The tablet measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in breadth, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length. The text has been previously published by Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, Vol. IV, pl. 34, No. 1; and translations have been given by George Smith, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff.; by Ménant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 100 f.; by Sayce, *Records of the Past*, New Ser., Vol. I, pp. 37 ff. (*cf.* Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 411); by Winckler in Schrader's *Keilins. Bibl.*, III, pp. 102 ff., and by Boissier, *Revue Sémitique*, Vol. 10 (1902), pp. 275 ff. A detailed comparison of the historical portions of Sections VII–XIII of the text with the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., l. 1–Rev., l. 4 (see above, pp. 3 ff.), is given in Vol. I, chap. II.

[2] The signs certainly do not form part of the temporal clause, or protasis, of which the first half of each "omen" consists, since in the Neo-Babylonian version they are always placed in the right-hand column or compartment. The two signs, together with the king's name, thus clearly form the apodosis or principal clause. The omens were formerly regarded as lunar, and Prof. Sayce took as *Sin*, "the moon," and as a verb, translating the whole phrase as "the moon was favourable for Sargon (or Narâm-Sin)." M. Boissier, however, is certainly right in holding that the omens were taken from the appearance of a victim's entrails; and, in support of this theory, he suggests that (the second sign in the

OBV.

2.

3. 

---

2. marched against the land of Elam,[1] and conquered the [Elamite]s;
3. he afflicted them grievously, [and] cut off their [food][2]-supplies.

---

2. *ana* ^{mâtu}*Elamti*^{KI} *illiku(ku)-ma*[1] ^{amêlu}[*Elamî*]$^{KI\ pl}$ *i-na-ru*
3. *u-bur-ta iš-ku-nu-šu-nu-t*[*i-ma b*]*u*[2]*-bu-ti-šu-nu u-bat-ti-iḳ*

---

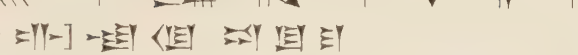
phrase *enuma* ⟨⟨⟨ with which each section of the text begins) is not *Sin*, the moon, but is "un des organes intérieurs de la victime," which he renders as *bantu* (*cf.* Brünnow, No. 9977). The group ⟨⟨⟨ 𒀀 he regards as identical with ⟨⟨⟨ 𒁹, *purussû*, and he renders it as "oracle de Sargon" (see *Rev. Sém.*, Vol. 10, p. 277). But whatever meanings may be assigned to ⟨⟨⟨ 𒀀 and to the preceding protases, they do not affect in the least the historical extracts from the chronicle with which alone we are here concerned; see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

[1] From similar passages (*cf.*, *e.g.*, p. 24, l. 15) it is clear that we should take 𒄩 as the determinative before the name of Elam, and not as the verb *kašâdu*. Otherwise we might render the passage as *ana kašâd Elamtu*^{KI} *illiku(ku)-ma*, "marched to conquer Elam."

[2] Conjectural restoration; there is just room for the signs *ma* and *bu*, and the end of the sign *bu* is preserved by the tablet.

Obv.

§ II, 5.

6. 

---

§ III, 8.

§ II, 5. . . . . Sargon, who marched against the [Country of the] West,

6. and conquered the Country of the West; his hand subdued the four [quar]ters (of the world).

---

§ III, 8. . . . . Sargon, who under this omen [. . . . .] the migh[t[1] of Bab]ylon,

§ II, 5. . . . . *Šarru-ukîn ša a-na* [^{mâtu}*Mar*]-*tu*^{KI} *illiku*-(*ku*)-*ma*

6. ^{mâtu}*Mar-tu i-ni-ru* [*kibr*]*at arba'i kât-su ikšudu*(*du*)

---

§ III, 8. . . . . *Šarru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i kiš-šu*-[*ti ša*[1] *Bâb*]*ili*^{KI} *i*-[. . . . .]-*šum-ma*

---

[1] About two signs are wanting before *Bâbili*^{KI}. The restoration suggested in the translation and transliteration is conjectural.

Obv.

9. [ ] [. . . . . .]

10. [. . . . .][1] [. . . . . .]

11. [. . . . . .]

§ IV, 13. [ ]

9. and removed the soil of . . . . . the gate . . . . ., and [. . . . .],

10. and built a city [like unto][1] Agade, and called its name [. . . . .];

11. [. . . . . there]in he caused to dwell.[2]

§ IV, 13. [. . . . . Sargo]n, who under this omen against the Country of the West

9. [*ep*]*irê*^{pl} *ša šal-la bâb* GIN-NA *is-su-ḫu-ma* [. . . . .]-*ma*

10. [*ki-ma*][1] *A-ga-de*^{KI} *ala i-pu-šu-m*[*a* . . . . .]^{KI} *šum-šu im-*[*b*]*u-*[*u*]

11. [. . . . . *ina lib-b*]*i u-še-ši-bu* [2]

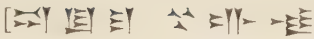
§ IV, 13. [. . . . . *Šarru-ukî*]*n ša ina šîri an-ni-i a-na* ^{mâtu}*Mar-tu*^{KI}

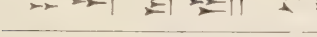
[1] Probably not more than two signs are wanting at the beginning of the line; the restoration is conjectural.

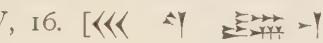
[2] It is possible that this section of the Omens (ll. 8–11) corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 18 and 19; see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

OBV.

14. [ ]

§ V, 16. []

17. [. . . . .] 

18. [. . . . .]  [1]

14. [marched and conquered the Country of the West]; his hand subdued the four [quar]ters (of the world).

§ V, 16. [. . . . . Sargon, who under this omen] marched [against] the Country of the West,

17. and [. . . . .] smote his [. . . . .]; his warriors

18. [. . . . . from] the midst[1] he brought him forth.

14. [*illiku(ku)-ma* ^{mâtu}*Mar-tu i-ni-ru kib*]*rat arba'i ḳât-su ikšudu(du)*

§ V, 16. [. . . . . *Šarru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i a-na*] ^{mâtu}*Mar-tu*^{KI} *illiku(ku)-ma*

17. [. . . . .]*-šu imḫaṣ(aṣ) ḳardûti*^{Pl}*-šu*

18. [. . . . . *ultu*] *ḳabli*[1] *ušêṣi-šu*

[1] Possibly, "[from] the battle."

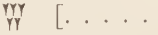
OBV.

§ VI, 19. []

20. [. . . . .]

21. [. . . . .

§ VII, 22.



§ VI, 19. [. . . . . Sarg]on, who under th[is] omen

20. [. . . . .] his [. . . . .] as many as [. . . . .] the goddess Ishtar [. . . . .].

21. [. . . . .] hath caused him to attain ; unto the stretching forth of his finger[1] hath [. . . . .].

---

§ VII, 22. . . . . Sargon, who under this omen[2]

§ VI, 19. [. . . . . *Šarru-uk*]*în ša ina šîri an-n*[*i-i*]

20. [. . . . .]-*ri-šu-šu ma-lî* [. . . . .] *ilu Ištar* [. . . . .]

21. [. . . . . *u*]-*šak-ši-du-šu ana ti-ri-i*[*ṣ ub*]*âni-šu*[1] *uš*-[. . . . .]

§ VII, 22. . . . . *Šarru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-n*[*i-i*][2]

---

[1] *I.e.*, "that for which his finger is stretched forth, his desire;" *cf. tiriṣ kâti.*

[2] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 1–6, from which the restorations in ll. 23 ff. are taken; see above, p. 3 f.

Obv.

23. [𒀀𒈬 𒁀𒋗 𒁀𒋗𒄭 𒁀𒋢 (𒌷) 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒋗 𒂗𒍪 𒀀𒋗 𒌷 𒁀𒋗
𒀀𒈬 𒁀𒋗𒌋 𒁀𒋢 𒄑 𒅔𒄿 𒌷 𒁀𒋗 𒀀𒈬 𒁀𒋗𒌋
[𒀀𒄭 𒁀𒁀]

24. [. . . . .]𒌷[1] 𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒈬 𒁀𒋗 𒌷 𒁀𒋢 𒀀𒋗 𒌋𒌋[2]
𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒈬 𒀀𒋗𒋗𒌋 𒀀𒋗 𒁀𒋗 𒀀𒈬 𒁀 𒁀𒋢 𒀀𒋗 𒌋𒌋
𒁀 𒁀𒋢 𒀀𒋗 𒌋𒌋

25. [. . . . .][3] 𒀀𒈬] 𒁀𒋗𒌋 𒀀𒄭 𒀀𒋗 𒁀𒋗𒌋 𒀀𒈬
𒌋𒌋 𒀀𒈬𒌋 𒁹 𒁀𒋗 𒁀𒋗𒌋(𒌋𒌋) 𒄑 𒀀𒈬𒌋𒌋𒂗𒍪 𒁀𒁀 𒁹
𒁀 𒁀𒋢 𒀀𒋗 𒌋𒌋

23. [through the royal gift of Ishtar] was exalted, and possessed no foe nor equal. His glory over [the world]

24. [he . . . . .].[1] The Sea of the West[2] he crossed, and in the third year in the West

25. [. . . . .][3] his hand subdued. He united them under one control; his images in the West

23. [*i-na palî* $^{(d)}$*Ištar*] *i-la-am-ma ša-ni-na gab-ri ul iši(ši) ša-lum-mat-su eli* [*mâtâti*^{pl}]

24. [. . . . .][1] *tâmta ša erêb Šamši*[2] *i-bi-ru-ma šattu* III^{KAN} *ina erêb Šamši*

25. [. . . . .[3]*k*]*át-su ikšudu(du) pî-šu a-šar išten(en) u-ki-nu ṣalmâni*^{pl}*-šu ina erêb Šamši*

---

[1] The chronicle No. 26472 reads *it-bu-uk*, "he poured out;" see above, p. 4. It is probable that the text gave a variant reading with some synonymous verb.

[2] See above, p. 4, n. 1.

[3] Three, or four, signs are wanting; possibly restore *kullat nîši* or *kullat mâti*.

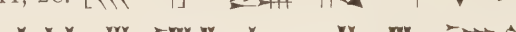
OBV.

26. [. . . . .] [1]

§ VIII, 28. [ ] [2]

[3]

29. [. . . . .]



26. [he . . . . .][1]; their booty in the Country of the Sea he brought over.

§ VIII, 28. [. . . . .][2] Sargon, who enlarged his palace to the extent of five . . . . .,[3]

29. and [. . . . .] the mighty [. . . . .] stood around him, and they said unto him, "Where shall we go?"

26. [. . . . .][1]*-zu šal-la-su-nu ina ma-a-ti tâmti u-še-bi-ra*

§ VIII, 28. [. . . . .][2] *Šarru-ukîn ša ekalla-šu pa-ṭi* V TA-A-AN *bat-ḫu u-rap-pi-šu-ma*[3]

29. [. . . . .] *dannûti*^{ti} *i-zi-zu-ni-šum-ma e-ki-a-am i-nilik iḳ-bu-šu*

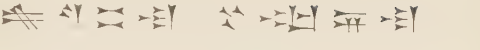
[1] The chronicle No. 26472 reads *uš-zi-iz*.

[2] Not more than two signs are wanting at the beginning of the line.

[3] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., l. 7 f. It is probable that both the chronicle and the omens in this section omit portions of the original narrative from which they were derived; see above, p. 5, n. 1.

Obv.

§ IX, 31. [1]

32.  [3]

§ IX, 31. [. . . . .][1] Sargon, against whom Kashtubila of Kaṣalla revolted, and against Kaṣalla[2]

32. he marched, and he smote them grievously[3] and defeated them;

§ IX, 31. *do.*[1] *m Kaš-tu-bi-la mâtu Ka-ṣal-la ibbalkitu-šu-ma ana mâtu Ka-ṣal-la*[2]

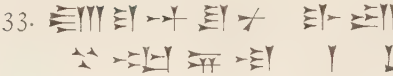
32. *illiku(ku)-ma dapdâ-šu-nu*[3] *im-ḫa-ṣu ka-mar-šu-nu iš-ku-nu*

[1] The interpretation of depends on the signs to be restored at the beginning of l. 28; the fact that in all other passages is repeated each time it occurs might be held to suggest the occurrence of a different phrase in l. 28, but it does not disprove the restoration adopted. Moreover the similar section of the Neo-Babylonian version (No. 67404, Obv., ll. 1–4) reads (see below, p. 40).

[2] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., l. 9 f. *Cf.* also the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens, Obv., ll. 1–4 (see below, p. 40 f.).

[3] The reading of the ideogram as *dapdû* is taken from the passage in the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens which is parallel to Rev., l. 8; in place of *-šu-nu* occurs the reading *da-ap-da-šu-[nu]*, from which the equation *dapdû*, "defeat," may provisionally be inferred (*cf.* also the similar equation = *kuttû*, "destruction, annihilation," Brünnow, No. 1512); see further, p. 43, n. 3.

OBV.

33. 

34. [1]

§ X, 36. [2]

37. [3]

33. their mighty host he overthrew; he turned Kaṣalla into dust and heaps of ruins;

34. he destroyed (the land and left not) enough for birds to rest thereon.[1]

§ X, 36. ..... Sargon, against whom under this omen[2]

37. the elders[3] of all the land revolted, and they besieged him in Agade,

33. *um-ma-an-šu-nu rabîta(ta) u-šam-ki-tu* ^{mâtu}*Ka-ṣal-la ana ip-ri u kar-me u-tir-ru*

34. *ma-an-za-az iṣṣurê*^{pl} *u-ḫal-liḳ*[1]

§ X, 36. ..... *Šarru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i*[2]

37. *ši-bu-ti*[3] *mâti kališu ibbalkitû-šu-ma ina A-ga-de*^{KI} *ilmû-šu-ma*

[1] See above, p. 5, n. 2.

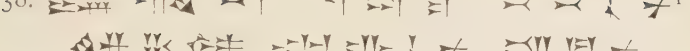
[2] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 11–13. *Cf.* also the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens, Obv., ll. 5-9.

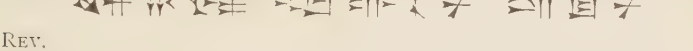
[3] The chronicle's reading *ina ši-bu-ti-šu*, "in his old age," is better than that given in the text; see above, p. 6, n. 1, and Vol. I, chap. II.

Obv.

38. [1]

Rev.

1. 

2.  [2]

Obv.

38. and Sargon went forth and smote them grievously[1] and defeated them;

Rev.

1. he overthrew their mighty host; they bound their goods upon them,

2. to the place of Ishtar they appealed.[2]

Obv.

38. *Šarru-ukîn ûṣi-ma dapdâ-šu-nu*[1] *im-ḫa-ṣu ka-mar-šu-nu iš-ku-nu*

Rev.

1. *ummân-šu-nu rabîta(ta) u-šam-ki-tu makkur-šu-nu eli-šu-nu ik-su-u*

2. *ku-um* ^{ilu}*Ištar il-su-u*[2]

---

[1] See above, p. 33, n. 3.

[2] The passage is probably corrupt. As the text stands we may interpret it as meaning that they fled with their property and sought sanctuary in the temple of Ishtar. In the Neo-Babylonian version the episode seems to have been of an international and not of a domestic character; see further, Vol. I, chap. II.

Rev.

§ XI, 5. [illegible] [1]

6. [illegible]

7. [illegible] [2]

8. [illegible] [3]

§ XI, 5. ..... Sargon, whom under this omen [1]

6. the land of Subartu in its might attacked; they submitted to his arms,

7. and Sargon settled their habitations,[2]

8. and he smote them grievously [3] and defeated them and their mighty host

§ XI, 5. ..... *Šarru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i* [1]

6. [^{mâtu}*S*]*ubartu*^{KI} *ina gi-ib-ši-šu itbû*^{pl}*-šu ana kakki ik-mi-su-ma*

7. [*Šarr*]*u-ukîn šubâti*^{pl}*-šu-nu*[2] *u-še-ši-bu-ma*

8. [*dap*]*dâ-šu-nu*[3] *im-ḫa-ṣu ka-mar-šu-nu iš-ku-nu umma-an-šu-nu rabîta*(*ta*)

---

[1] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 14–17. *Cf.* also the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens, Rev., ll. 1–7.

[2] It is probable that [illegible] is a misreading of the Babylonian [illegible]; see above, p. 7, n. 2.

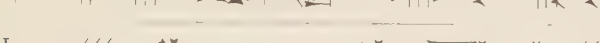
[3] See above, p. 33, n. 3.

Rev.

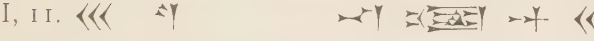
9. [. . . . .]

§ XII, 11.

12. [



13. [



9. [. . . . .] his [. . . . .] and his forces he . . . . . (and) he brought into Agade.

§ XII, 11. . . . . Narâm-Sin,[1]

12. [who under] this omen marched against the city of Apirak,

13. and constructed [mines (against it)]; Rîsh-Adad, the king of Apirak,

9. [. . . . .]-*šu u illâti*^{pl}-*šu u-ḳa-i-la ana A-ga-de*^{ki} *u-še-ri-bu*

§ XII, 11. . . . . *Na-ram-*^{ilu}*Sin*[1]

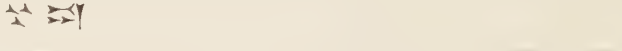
12. [*ša ina*] *šîri an-ni-i ana* ^{alu}*A-pi-rak illiku(ku)-ma*

13. [*pi-il-š*]*u ip-lu-šu* ^{m}*Ri-iš-*^{ilu}*Adad šar* ^{alu}*A-pi-rak*

[1] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle No. 26472, Rev., ll. 1–3. *Cf.* also the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens, Rev., ll. 8–11.

Rev.

14. [ ]

§ XIII, 16. 

17. [ ]

14. [and the governor][1] of Apirak his hand subdued.

§ XIII, 16. ..... Narâm-Sin, who under this omen[2]

17. marched [against the land of Mag]an, and captured the land of Magan,

14. [*u* ^{amêlu}*sukka*]*l*[1] ^{alu}*A-pi-rak ḳât-su ikšudu*(*du*)

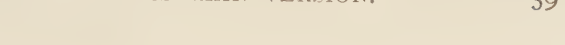
§ XIII, 16. ..... *Na-ram-*^{ilu}*Sin ša ina šîri an-ni-i*[2]

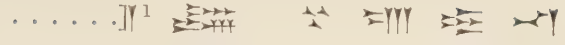
17. [*ana* ^{mâtu}*Ma-g*]*an-na illiku*(*ku*)*-ma* ^{mâtu}*Ma-gan-na iṣ-ba-tu-m*[*a*]

[1] The end of the sign is preserved upon the tablet; for the restoration, see above, p. 10, n. 1.

[2] This section of the Omens corresponds to the chronicle, No. 26472, Rev., l. 4.

REV.

18. [. . . . .][1] 

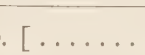
§ XIV, 20. [. . . . .] 
[. . . . .][2]

18. and [. . . . .],[1] the king of the land of Magan, his hand subdued.

§ XIV, 20. [. . . . .] . . . . . [. . . . .][2]

18. [. . . . .][1] *šar* ^{mâtu} *Ma-gan-na ḳât-su ikšudu-*[*(du)*]

§ XIV, 20. [. . . . .]-*a-ma-ru i-ba-*[. . . . .][2]

[1] The name of the king is given by the chronicle No. 26472, (Rev., l. 4) as  ; but the trace of the name before upon the tablet reads , *i.e.*, an upright wedge, which is not the ending of either of the signs or . But it may be the last wedge of the sign , and the Omens may have given the name as , ^{m}*Ma-ni-um*, the original form of the name with the determinative prefix ; see above, p. 10, n. 3.

[2] From the few signs preserved of this section, it is not possible to recognize the nature of its contents. This section is followed by a catch-line, giving the opening-line of the next tablet of the composition ; and the lower part of the reverse is occupied by an abbreviated form of the colophon of Ashur-bani-pal stating that the tablet was inscribed for the library in his palace at Nineveh.

IV.

A Neo-Babylonian Version of the Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin.

[No. 67404.][1]

Obv.

[. . . . .]

§ IX, 1. [3]

[. . . . .]

§ IX, 1. . . . . [2] Sar[gon, who under this omen][3]

[. . . . .]

§ IX, 1. . . . . [2] *Šar[ru-ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i]*[3]

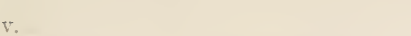
---

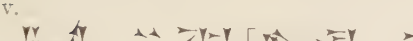
[1] The tablet measures 3 in. in breadth and $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length. As in the Assyrian version (K. 2130), the separate sections are divided from one another by lines ruled horizontally across the tablet. On this Neo-Babylonian version the text is further divided by a line ruled down the centre of the tablet, which splits each section of the text into two compartments. In the left-hand of these compartments the augural portion of each section of the text is written, and they are thus separated from the historical statements which are arranged in the right-hand compartments. For a discussion of the relations this version of the Omens bears to the Assyrian version and to the chronicle No. 26472, see Vol. I, chap. II.

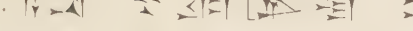
[2] See above, p. 25 f., n. 2.

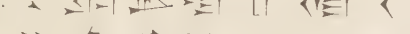
[3] This section of the text corresponds to the Assyrian version, Obv., ll. 31–34. *Cf.* the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., l. 9 f., with which short account of the conquest of Kaṣalla the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens agrees.

Obv.

2. 

3. 

4. 

§ X, 5. 

6.

2. [marched] against the land of K[aṣalla],
3. and [he turned] Kaṣall[a into mounds and heaps of ruins];
4. [he destroyed the land and left not enough for a bird to rest] thereon.

§ X, 5. . . . . Sar[gon, against whom under this omen][1]
6. in [his] old age[2] [all the lands revolted],

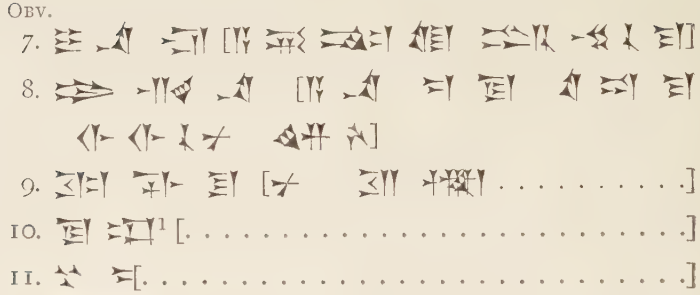
2. *a-na* ^{mâtu} *K[a-ṣal-la il-li-ku-ma]*
3. ^{mâtu} *Ka-ṣal-l[a ana tili u kar-me u-tir]*
4. *i-na libbi-š[u man-za-az iṣ-ṣur u-ḫal-liḳ]*

§ X, 5. . . . . *Šarru-[ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i]*[1]
6. *i-na ši-ôn-[ti-šu*[2] *mâtâti*[pl] *ka-la-ši-na ibbalkitâ-šu-ma]*

[1] This section corresponds to the Assyrian version, Obv., l. 36–Rev., l. 2; *cf.* the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 11–13.

[2] It is clear that the Neo-Babylonian version of the Omens supports the chronicle's account of the revolt against Sargon, according to which it was not "the elders of all the land" who rebelled, but "all the lands" who revolted in Sargon's "old age;" see above, p. 6, and Vol. I, chap. II.

OBV.



7. and [they besieged him] in [Agade];
8. [and] Sargon [went forth to battle and defeated them];
9. their overthrow [he accomplished . . . . .]
10. the place [of[1] . . . . .]
11. the land of [. . . . .]

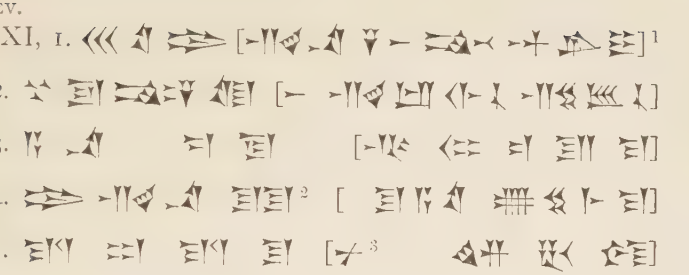
---

7. *i-na* ^{alu}[*A-ga-de*^{KI} *il-mu-šu-ma*]
8. *Šarru-ukîn* [*a-na kakki ûṣi-ma abikta-šu-nu im-ḫaṣ*]
9. *ka-mar-šu-*[*nu iš-kun* . . . . .]
10. *ku-u*[*m*[1] . . . . .]
11. ^{mâtu}[. . . . .]

---

[1] In l. 10 f., the Neo-Babylonian version seems to have agreed with the text of the Assyrian version rather than with that of the chronicle No. 26472. But it is clear that the episode in the Neo-Babylonian version fitted its context, and did not record the flight of the rebellious elders with their household goods, into the temple of Ishtar.

Rev.



§ XI, 1. . . . . Sar[gon, whom under this omen][1]
2. the land of Subartu [in its might attacked];
3. [they submitted to his] arms,
4. [and] Sargon [settled that] revolt,[2]
5. and [he smote them] grievously[3]

§ XI, 1. . . . . *Šarru-*[*ukîn ša ina šîri an-ni-i*][1]
2. *mâtu Subartu*^{KI} [*ina gi-ib-ši-šu itbû*^{pl}*-šu*]
3. *a-na kakki* [*ik-mi-is-su-ma*]
4. *Šarru-ukîn dalâḫu*[2] [*šu-a-tu u-še-šib-ma*]
5. *da-ap-da-šu-*[*nu*[3] *im-ḫa-ṣu*]

[1] This section corresponds to the Assyrian version, Rev., ll. 5–9; *cf.* the chronicle No. 26472, Obv., ll. 14–17.

[2] The Neo-Babylonian version here supports the reading of the chronicle and not that of the Assyrian version of the Omens; see above, p. 7, n. 2.

[3] The word is elsewhere written -*du-u*, and -*di-e*, and has been transliterated *tapdû* and taken to be a derivative of *padû*; this etymology is disproved by the present passage.

Rev.

6. and defeated them, [and their wide-spreading host he destroyed],
7. [and he brought] their possessions into [Agade].[1]

§ XII, 8. ..... Narâm-[Sin, who under this omen][2]
9. against Apirak [marched, and he constructed mines (against it)]

6. *ka-mar-šu-nu i[š-kun um-man-šu-nu rapaštim(tim) u-šam-ki-it*
7. *makkur-šu-nu a-n[a ^{ali}A-ga-de^{KI} u-še-ri-ba]* [1]

§ XII, 8. ..... *Na-ra-am-^{ilu}[Sin ša ina šîri an-ni-i]* [2]
9. *a-na A-pi-rak [illiku(ku)-ma pi-il-šu ip-lu-uš-ma]*

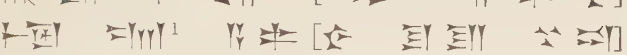
[1] It is clear that the end of the account of the conquest of Subartu in the Neo-Babylonian version agreed with that of the chronicle No. 26472.

[2] This section corresponds to the Assyrian version, Rev., ll. 8–11; *cf.* the chronicle No. 26472, Rev., ll. 1–3.

Rev.

10.

11.

§ XIII, 12. 

[. . . . . .]

10. and Rîsh-Adad, the k[ing of Apirak],
11. and the governor[1] of Api[rak his hand subdued].

§ XIII, 12. . . . . Narâ[m-Sin, who under this omen][2]
[. . . . . .]

10. *Ri-iš-^{ilu}Adad š[ar A-pi-rak]*
11. *u sukkal*[1] *A-pi-[rak ḳât-su ikšudu(du)]*

§ XIII, 12. . . . . *Na-ra-a[m-^{ilu}Sin ša ina šîri an-ni-i]*[2]
[. . . . . .]

[1] See above, p. 10, n. 1.

[2] This section of the text corresponded to the Assyrian version, Rev., ll. 16–18; *cf.* the chronicle No. 26472, Rev., l. 4.

V.

The Chronicle of the Babylonian Dynasties.

[K. 8532 + K. 8533 + K. 8534; *cf.* K. 14839.][1]

Obv., Col. I.

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .]

2. [. . . . .] 3. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] reigned

2. [. . . . .] in all 3. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] IN-A[G]

2. [. . . . .]-NIGIN 3. [. . . . .]

---

[1] The main portion of the tablet K. 8532, and the two smaller fragments, K. 8533 and K. 8534, which are sometimes cited together by the symbols "S" and "A," were first published by George Smith in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. III (1874), pp. 371 ff. The two smaller fragments join the main portion of the tablet and were published in their correct positions by George Smith. They were afterwards republished by Abel and Winckler in the latter's *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (1889), p. 153, as unjoined fragments of the same tablet (*cf.* also Winckler's translation in Schrader's *Keilins. Bibl.*, II, pp. 272 ff.). They were restored to their correct positions in 1895; see my paper on "The fragments of a Babylonian chronicle rejoined," in the *Zeits. fur Assyr.*, XII, p. 395 f. For other references to the chronicle, *cf.* Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 936. The small fragment K. 14839 (one of the previously unnumbered fragments of the Kuyunjik Collection) is probably part of a copy of a very similar chronicle. As there is no room for its text on p. 143 or 145 of this volume, it has been given as a small block in Vol. I, chap. VII.

OBV., COL. II.

[. . . . . .] I. [. . . . . .]

2. [. . . . . .]

3. [. . . . . .]

4. [. . . . . .]

[. . . . . .][2]

[. . . . . .] I. [. . . . . .]

2. Ilu-illati,[1] son of the same [. . . . . .]

3. Enmennunna [. . . . . .]

4. Apil-kishshu, son of [. . . . . .]

[. . . . . .][2]

[. . . . . .] I. [. . . . . .]

2. *mIlu-illati*[1] *mâr do.* [. . . . . .]

3. *mEn-men-nun-na* [. . . . . .]

4. *mA-pil-kiš-šu mâr* [. . . . . .]

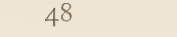
[. . . . . .][2]

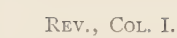
[1] The three rulers, whose names are mentioned in this and the two following lines, belong to an early period of Babylonian history. They are separated from the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon by the end of Col. II, the whole of Col. III, and the upper part of Col. I of the reverse, *i.e.*, by about two columns of the dynastic list; a similar portion of the list (the end of Rev., Col. I, Rev., Col. II, and the beginning of Rev., Col. III, *i.e.*, not more than two columns) was occupied by the nine groups, or dynasties, of the List of Kings, from the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon onwards.

[2] The lower part of Col. II and the whole of Col. III are wanting.

Rev., Col. I.

[. . . . .]

1.  . . . . .][1]

2.  . . . . . .]

3. . . . . . .]

4. . . . . . .]

5. . . . . . .]

[. . . . .]

1. Babylon [. . . . .][1]

2. Sumu-[la-ilu[2] . . . . .]

3. Zabû[. . . . .]

4. Apil-[Sin[3] . . . . .]

5. Sin-[muballiṭ . . . . .]

[. . . . .]

1. *Bâbilu*[KI . . . . .][1]

2. *Su-mu-[la-ilu*[2] . . . . .]

3. *[m]Za-bu-u* [. . . . .]

4. *[m]A-pil-[ilu Sin*[3] . . . . .]

5. *[m ilu]Sin-[mu-bal-liṭ* . . . . .]

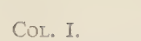
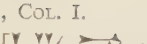
---

[1] It is probable that this line, and the one which preceded it, recorded the founding of the dynasty of Babylon by Sumu-abi.

[2] The restoration of this and the following lines are taken from the Babylonian List of Kings.

[3] This god's name is written on the fragment K. 14839. Restorations have not been taken from the fragment, since its text, though very similar, does not seem to have been identical with that of K. 8532; see further, Vol. I, chap. VII.

Rev., Col. I.

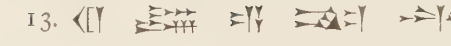
6. [[1] . . . . .]
7. [ . . . . .]
8. [ . . . . .]
9. [. . . . .]
10. [. . . . .]
11. [. . . . .]
12. <[. . . . .]

6. [Hammurabi[1] . . . . .]
7. [Samsu-iluna . . . . .]
8. [Ebishum . . . . .]
9. [Ammi-ditana . . . . .]
10. [Ammi-saduga . . . . .]
11. [Samsu-ditana . . . . .]
12. [. . . . .]

6. [^{m}*Ha-am-mu-ra-bi*[1] . . . . .]
7. [^{m}*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* . . . . .]
8. [^{m}*E-bi-šum* . . . . .]
9. [^{m}*Am-mi-di-ta-na* . . . . .]
10. [^{m}*Am-mi-sa-dug-ga* . . . . .]
11. [^{m}*Sa-am-su-di-ta-na* . . . . .]
12. [. . . . .]

[1] The restoration of the names of the remaining kings of the First Dynasty of the Kings' List, and of the summary in l. 13, is conjectural.

REV., COL. I.

13. 

14. [. . . . . .]

15. [. . . . . .]

16. [. . . . . .]

[. . . . . .]

13. Elev[en kings of the Dynasty of Babylon. They reigned for . . . . .[1] years].

14. [. . . . .]

15. Itti-[ili-nibi[2] . . . . .]

16. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

13. X[I LUGAL-E-NE PAL *Bâbili*^{KI} MU . . . . .[1] IN-AG-MEŠ]

14. [. . . . .]

15. ^{m}*Itti-*[*ili-ni-bi*[2] . . . . .]

16. ^{m}[. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

[1] The total of the years given in the List of Kings is 304.

[2] Probably this name is to be restored as that of the second king of the Second Dynasty of the Kings' List, Iluma-ilu having possibly been referred to in l. 14. On this supposition the chronicle agreed with the List of Kings in setting the Second Dynasty after the First; see further, Vol. I, chap. IV.

REV., COL. II.

[. . . . .]

1. [. . . . .]

2. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .]

1. [. . . . . the . . . . . of the Country][1] of the Sea . . . . .

2. The ruler[2] of the . . . [. . . of the Country][3] of the [S]ea, Simmash-shikhu, the son of Erba-Sin,

[. . . . .]

1. [. . . . . KUR A][1]-AB-BA-GE BA-NIGIN

2. *rid*[2] *an-šu* KU-A[. . KUR A-A]B[3]-BA-GE ^{m}*Sim-maš-ši-ḫu mâr* ^{m}*Er-ba-*^{ilu}*Sin*

[1] From the traces that remain of the preceding six characters it is clear that they may be restored from the corresponding phrase in l. 2.

[2] The reading , in place of as read by Smith and Winckler, is certain. The title *ridû* (constr. st. *rid*), "leader, ruler," is here used in a military or political sense. For a discussion of a restricted use of the title in the period of the First Dynasty, see my *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi*, Vol. III, p. 99 f., n. 5.

[3] The traces of the sign following read , possibly . There is just room for the restoration of the signs , of which traces also occur in the preceding line.

REV., COL. II.

3. a man of the dynasty of Damiḳ-ilishu, was slain with the sword. He reigned for seventeen[1] years.
4. He was buried in the palace of Sargon.
5. Ea-mukin-zêr, the usurping[2] king, the son of Khash-mar, reigned for three months.[3]
6. He was buried in the swamp of the Bît-Khashmar.

3. *ṣab palî Damiḳ-ili-šu* GIŠ-KU-TA BA-AN-SIG-GI-IN MU XVII[1] IN-AG
4. *ina ekalli Šarru-ukîn ki-bir*
5. *^{m} ^{ilu}E-a-mu-kin-zêr šarru* IM-GI[2] *mâr ^{m}Ḫaš-mar* ITU III[3] IN-AG
6. *ina raḳ-ḳa-ti ša Bît-^{m}Ḫaš-mar ki-bir*

---

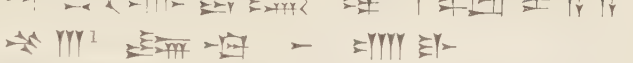
[1] According to the List of Kings, Simmash-shîkhu reigned for eighteen years.

[2] An alternative explanation would make IM-GI a geographical expression for Southern Babylonia; for a discussion of the phrase, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

[3] According to the List of Kings Ea-mukin-zêr reigned for five months.

REV., COL. II.

7.

8. 

7. Kashshû-nadin-akhi, the son of Sippâa reigned for three years.[1] (He was buried) in the palace.

8. Three kings of the Dynasty of the Country of the Sea. They reigned for twenty-three[2] years.

7. $^{m\ ilu}$*Kaš-šu-u-nadin-aḫi mâr* ^{m}*Sip-pa-a-a* MU III[1] IN-AG *ina ekalli*

8. III LUGAL-E-NE PAL *mât tâmti* MU XXIII[2] IN-AG-MEŠ

[1] The reading ¥¥¥ (three years), in place of ¥¥¥ (six years) as read by George Smith, Winckler, etc., is certain, for the three wedges are quite clear upon the clay. Thus there is no discrepancy between this chronicle and the List of Kings with regard to the length of Kashshu-nadin-akhi's reign. The reading of "six years" was clearly adopted in previous editions of the text in order to make the total lengths of the reigns approximate more closely to the summary in l. 8; but see the following note.

[2] According to my reading of l. 7, the length of this dynasty should not be twenty-three years but twenty years and three months. It is probable that the scribe has arrived at his total of twenty-three years by reckoning the three months in l. 5 as three years. This explanation is preferable to emending the "three" in l. 7 to "six," for even after making the alteration the total length of the reigns would be twenty-three years and three months, and there would still be an error in the summary in l. 8.

Rev., Col. II.

9. [𒀀 𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬] 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀[1] 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 [𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀]

10. [𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀[2] [𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀] 𒀀𒀀𒀀

11. [𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀] 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀[3] 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒈬𒈬𒈬𒈬 𒀀𒈬𒀀 [. . . . .] 𒀀𒀀𒀀

---

9. [E]ulbar-shakin-shum, the son of Bazi, reigned for fifteen[1] years. [He was buried] in the palace of Êṭir-Marduk.

10. [Ninib-ku]durri-uṣur, the son of Bazi, reigned for two[2] years.

11. [Shilanum]-Shuḳamuna, the son of the same, reigned for three[3] months. (He was buried) in the palace. [. . . . .]

---

9. [^{m}*E*]-*ul-bar-šakin-šum mâr* ^{m}*Ba-zi* MU XV[1] IN-AG *ina ekalli Êṭir-*^{ilu}*Marduk* [*ki-bir*]

10. [$^{m\,ilu}$*Ninib-ku*]*durri-uṣur mâr* ^{m}*Ba-zi* MU II[2] [IN-A]G

11. [^{m}*Ši-la-num*]-^{ilu}*Šu-ḳa-mu-na do.* III[3] ITU IN-AG *ina ekalli* [. . . . .]-ŠAG

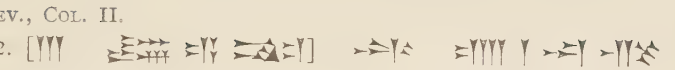
---

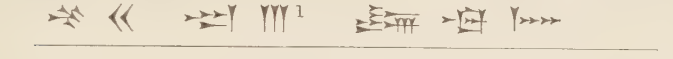
[1] According to the List of Kings, Eulbar-shakin-shum reigned seventeen years.

[2] Ninib-kudurri-uṣur, according to the List of Kings, reigned three years.

[3] The chronicle here agrees with the List of Kings.

Rev., Col. II.

12. 

13. 

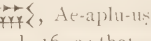
12. [Three kings] of the Dynasty of the house of Bazi. They reigned for twenty years and three months.[1]

13. [. . . . .][2] descendant of [. . . . .] of Elam, reigned for six years.

12. [III LUGAL-E-N]E PAL *bît* ^{m}*Ba-zi* MU XX ITU III[1] IN-AG-MEŠ

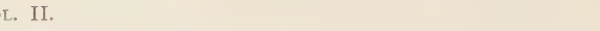
13. [. . . . .][2] *liblibbi* [. . . . .] *Elamti*^{K} MU VI IN-AG

[1] This summary for the length of the dynasty is the same as that given in the List of Kings, but it does not agree with the lengths of the separate reigns in ll. 9–11. It is possible to explain the discrepancy in this tablet by supposing that the scribe reckoned the three months in l. 11 both as months and as years.

[2] It is probable that the name of this Elamite king may be restored as  , Ae-aplu-uṣur, whose name occurs on the chronicle No. 27859, Obv., l. 16, as that of a Babylonian king who reigned between Eulbar-shakin-shum and Nabû-mukîn-apli. In support of this restoration we may note that the traces of the end of the name in the text are those of , *uṣur*, while in the List of Kings the beginning of the name is preserved as , proving that the first component of the Elamite king's name was the name of a god; see further, p. 62, n. 2, and Vol. I, Chaps. VII and VIII.

Rev., Col. II.

14.

15.  [1]

[. . . . . .]

14. He was buried in the palace of Sargon.

15. [One king] of the Dynasty of [Ela]m. He reigned for six years.

[. . . . .][1]

14. *ina ekalli Šarru-ukîn ki-bir*

15. [I LUGAL] PAL [*Ela*]*mti*^{KI} MU VI IN-AG

[. . . . .][1]

[1] The lower part of Col. II of the reverse is broken away, and what remains of Col. III is uninscribed.

VI.

A Chronicle relating to Events from the Eleventh to the Seventh Century B.C.

[No. 27859.][1]

Obv.

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .]

3. [. . . . .]

4.

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .]

3. [. . . . .] heavy [spoil] he carried off.

4. Marduk-shapik-zêr-mâ[ti[2] . . . . .] made.

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .]

3. [. . . . .] *kabittu(tu) iš-lul*

4. *[m] [itu]Marduk-šapik-zêr-mâ[ti[2] . . . . .] epuš(uš)*

[1] The tablet measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in breadth, and $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. in length; when complete it was probably not more than 3 in. long. For a discussion of its character and contents, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

[2] Traces of are visible.

Obv.

5. [. .] [. . . . .]

6.

5. [. . . . .] and forty-four[1] kings of the lands[2] [. . . . .] and they beheld abundance.[3]

6. He established peace and friendly relations with Ashur-bêl-kala, king of Assyria.[4]

5. [. .] XLIV[1] *šarrâni*^{pl} *ša mâtâti*[2] *i*[*m*- . . . . .] *u ḫegalla imurû*^{pl}[3]

6. *ṭubtu*(*tu*) *u su-lum-mu-u itti* $^{m\,ilu}$*Aš*[*ur*]-*bêl-k*[*a-la šar*] ^{mâtu}*Aššur iš-kun*[4]

---

[1] Possibly is to be restored at the beginning of the line, which would then read "One hundred and forty-four kings." The reading [. .] , *kussâ*, "the throne of the kings of the lands . . .," is scarcely possible from the traces upon the tablet.

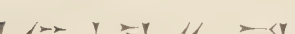
[2] The traces of the sign following *mâtâti* are uncertain; they are possibly the beginning of .

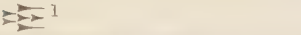
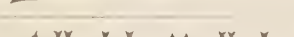
[3] Marduk-shapik-zêr-mâti is here credited with having formed an extensive and prosperous empire.

[4] A parallel account of the friendly relations between Marduk-shapik-zêr-mâti and Ashur-bêl-kala is given in the "Synchronous History" (K. 4401 *a*, Obv., Col. II, ll. 25–28), which reads *ina tar-ṣi* ^{m}*Aššur-bêl-ka-la šar* [^{mâtu}*Aššur*] $^{m\,ilu}$*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-zêr-mâti šar* ^{mâtu}*Kar-du*-[*ni-aš*] *ṭu-ub-ta su-lu-um-ma-a ga-am*-[*ra*] *it-ti a-ḫa-meš iš-ku*-[*nu*], "In the time of Ashur-bêl-kala, king of [Assyria], Marduk-shapik-zêr-mâti was king of Babylon, and they established peace and friendly relations with one another."

Obv.

7. [1]

8.  [2] [3]

9. [. . . . .]  [. . . . . .] 

7. At that time the king went from Assyria unto Sippar.[1]

8. Adad-aplu-iddina, the son of Itti-Marduk-balâṭu,[2] the Aramaean, the usurping king,[3]

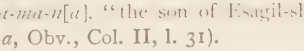
9. [. . . . .] the town, all that [. . . . . .] the city of Dûr-ilu

7. *ina u-mi-šu-ma šarru ištu* ^{mâtu}*Aššur ana Sip-par illikam*(*kam*)[1]

8. $^{m\,ilu}$*Adad-aplu-iddina apil* ^{m}*Itti-*^{ilu}*Marduk-balâṭu*[2] ^{mâtu}*A-ra-mu-u šarru* IM-GI[3]

9. [. . . . .] *ma-ḫa-zu ka-la ša* [. . . . .]*-di-ri Dûr-ilu*^{ki}

[1] For a discussion of this passage, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

[2] A variant tradition with regard to Adad-aplu-iddina's origin is preserved by the "Synchronous History," which states that he was  , *apil* ^{m}*E-sag-gil-šadû*(*u*)*-ni apil la ma-ma-n*[*a*]. "the son of Esagil-shadûni, the son of a nobody" (*cf.* K. 4401 *a*, Obv., Col. II, l. 31).

[3] See above, p. 52, n. 2.

Obv.

10. [. . . . .]

11.

10. [. . . . .] they cast down. The (men of the land of) Sutî made an attack and the spoil of Sumer and A[kkad][1]

11. they[2] brought out unto their own land. The shrines of Marduk [. . . . .] in the midst [. . . . .] the god[3] [. . . he] completed.

10. [. . . . .]-*sa-a id-du-u* ^{mâtu}*Su-tu-u itbi-ma šil-lat* ^{mâtu}*Šu-me-ri u A[k-ka-di]*[1]*-i*

11. *ana mâti-šu u-še-ṣi*[2] *aš-rat* ^{ilu}*Marduk* [. . . . .] *lib-bi* [. . . . .] ^{ilu}[. . .[3] *u*]-*šak-lil*

[1] There is scarcely room for three signs in the gap, even if *ka* and *di* were written very close. It is possible that the scribe omitted *ka* by mistake; the reading *Ak-kad-i* is improbable.

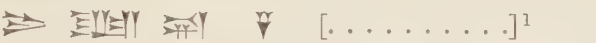
[2] The subject of the verb is clearly Sutû, which is employed in the collective sense for the whole nation.

[3] The traces of the sign appear to be those of , which may perhaps refer to Marduk; as however there is room for one small sign in the following gap in addition to *u* (the first syllable of the verb), the sign may be the determinative before the name of a second deity. In any case the end of the line seems to record the restoration of temples carried out by Adad-aplu-iddina in the course of his reign.

Obv.

12.

13.

14. 

12. Simmash-shikhu, the son of Erba-Sin, the ruler of [. . . . .][1]

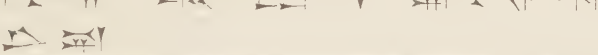
13. made the throne of "the Lord of All" in the temple of Ekurigigal.

14. Within the shrine the fifth year of Eulbar-shakin-shum, the king[2]

12. *mSim-maš-ši-i-ḫu apil mErba-ilu Sin* amêlu UKU-UŠ *ša* [. . . . .][1]

13. *kussu ilu Bêl-naphari ša E-kur-igi-gal epuš(uš)*

14. *ina parakki šattu* V *E-ul-bar-šakin-šum šarri*[2]

[1] Possibly the end of the line should be restored as *ša* [. . . . . *mât tam-ti*]*m*, "ruler of [. . . . . of the Country of the Sea]," from the chronicle K. 8534, etc., Col. V, l. 2; see above, p. 51. The traces of the last character in the line seem to be those of  or .

[2] My interpretation of this line and of the seven lines which follow is that they enumerate the years in which the statue of Marduk was not brought out in the New Year's procession but remained *ina parakki*, "within the shrine." The phrase *ina parakki* is supposed to be repeated at the beginning of each of the six lines that follow; see further, Vol. I, chap. VIII.

Obv.

15. [1]

16. [2]

17.

18. [[3]

15. the fourteenth year[1]

16. the fourth year of Ae-aplu-uṣur[2]

17. the first year of Nabû-mukîn-ap[li, the ki]ng

18. [the . . . . year][3]

15. *šattu* XIV[1]

16. *šattu* IV ^{ilu}*A-e-aplu-uṣur*[2]

17. *šattu* I ^{ilu}*Nabû-mukîn-ap[li šar]ri*

18. [*šattu* . .][3]

[1] *I.e.*, of Eulbar-shakin-shum.

[2] It is extremely probable that Ae-aplu-uṣur was the Babylonian name of the Elamite king who reigned for six years and is reckoned in the List of Kings as having formed the Seventh Dynasty. The sequence in the text shows that he lived after Eulbar-shakin-shum and before Nabu-mukîn-apli; and the traces of the Elamite king's name in the List of Kings and in the chronicle K. 8532, etc. (see above, p. 55) support this conclusion. See further, Vol. I, chap. VIII.

[3] This line and the two that follow refer to years in the reign of Nabû-mukîn-apli.

EDGE.

1. [. .]
2. [. .]
3. [. . . . .] [1]

REV.

1. [. . . . .] [2]

EDGE.

1. [the . . . . year]
2. [the . . . . year]
3. [the . . . . year of . . . . . -akh]ê-iddina[1]

REV.

1. [. . . . Adad-nirar]i, king of Assyria, against [Shamash-mudammi]ḳ[2]

EDGE.

1. [*šattu* . .]
2. [*šattu* . .]
3. [*šattu* . . . . . *-aḫ*]*ê*[1]*-iddina*[1]

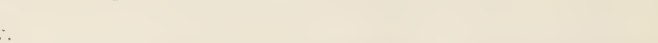
REV.

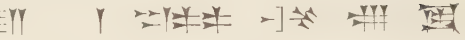
1. [. . . . . *m ilu Adad-nirar*]*i šar mâtu Aššur ana tar-ṣ*[*i m ilu Šamaš-mudammiḳ*(*i*]*ḳ*)[2]

[1] We may conclude that this line gives us the end of the name of one of the missing kings in the early part of the Eighth Dynasty of the List of Kings.

[2] The restoration of the names of Adad-nirari and Shamash-mudammiḳ is in accordance with the slight traces that still remain upon the tablet.

Rev.

2. [ [1]

3. [. . . . .] [2] 
[. . . . . .]

2. [In the time of Nabû-sh]um-ukin Tiglath[-pileser, king of] Assyria[1]

3. [. . . . ap]lu[2]-iddina, the son of Nabû-shum-[. . . . .]

2. [*ina tar-ṣi* $^{m\ ilu}$*Nabû-š*]*um-u-kin* ^{m}*Tukulti*[*(ti)-apil-E-šar šar* ^{mâtu}]*Aššur*[1]

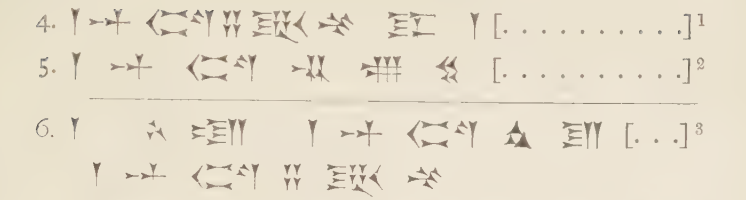
3. [. . . . .*-ap*]*lu*[2]*-iddina mâr* $^{m\ ilu}$*Nabû-šum-*[. . . . .]

The original section, of which this formed the first line, evidently recorded the defeat of Shamash-mudammiḳ by Adad-nirari III, and was parallel to a portion of the "Synchronous History" (K. 4401 *a*, Rev., Col. I, ll. 1–7).

[1] This line also formed the first line in a section of the chronicle. It is probable that we should restore *ina tarṣi*, "in the time of," rather than *ana tarṣi*, "against," for Nabû-šum-ukîn reigned scarcely long enough for Tiglath-pileser to have undertaken extensive military operations against him. According to the List of Kings, he reigned one month and twelve days; the Babylonian Chronicle (84-2-11, 356, Col. 1, l. 17) states that he reigned a little over two months and was then deposed by Ukîn-zêr.

[2] It is probable that we may restore the name as [Marduk-ap]lu-iddina, *i.e.*, Merodach-baladan III. In that case the text gives us the beginning of the name of Merodach-baladan's father. For a discussion of this possibility and of the tradition of Merodach-baladan's parentage preserved in Is. xxxix, 1, and II Kgs., xx, 12, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

Rev.



4. Marduk-zakir-shum, the son of [. . . . .][1]
5. Marduk-bêl-ushe[. . . . .][2]

6. Against Marduk-balâṭsu-[. . . .][3] Marduk-zakir-shum

4. *[m] [ilu]Marduk-za-kir-šum mâr [m] [ilu] . . . . .]*[1]
5. *[m] [ilu]Marduk-bêl-u-še-[. . . . .]*[2]

6. *ana tar-ṣi [m] [ilu]Marduk-balâṭ-su-[. . . .]*[3] *[m] [ilu]Marduk-za-kir-šum*

[1] The end of the line gave the name of Marduk-zakir-shum's father. We know from the List of Kings that he was of humble origin, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

[2] Marduk-zakir-shum only reigned for one month. Marduk-bel-ushe[. .] may have been a pretender whom he defeated in the course of his short reign, or before he secured the throne himself.

[3] It is strange that two sections should be devoted to Marduk-zakir-shum's reign. We may conjecture that Marduk-balâṭsu-[. . .] was another pretender to the throne whom Marduk-zakir-shum succeeded in defeating before he himself was deposed by Merodach-baladan III. The name may probably be restored as *Marduk-balâṭsu-[iḳbi]*.

Rev.

7. For [. . . .][1] years there was no king in the land.

8. Erba-Marduk,[2] the son of Marduk-shakin-shum,

9. in the second year grasped the hands of Bêl and the son of Bêl.

7. [. . .][1] *šanâti*^{pl} *šarru ina mâti lâ baši*

8. ^{m}*Er-ba-*^{ilu}*Marduk*[2] *mâr* ^{m} ^{ilu}*Marduk-šakin-šum*

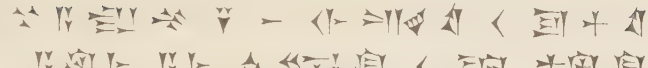
9. *ina šattu* II^{KAN} *ḳât* ^{ilu}*Bêl u mâr* ^{ilu}*Bêl iṣ-bat*

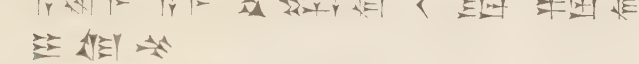
[1] This interregnum clearly corresponds with the eight years' interregnum of the Babylonian Chronicle (84-2-11, 356, Rev., Col. I, l. 28), which in the List of Kings are assigned to Sennacherib. The figure "eight" has not been restored in the text, for it is possible that the reign of Erba-Sin (see ll. 8 ff.) fell within this period, in which case a smaller number of years than eight would probably have been assigned to the period by the writer.

[2] It is possible that the name should be read as Erba-ilishu, and that of his father as Ilishu-shakin-shum. No king of the name of Erba-Marduk (or Erba-ilishu) occurs at this period either in the List of Kings or in the Babylonian Chronicle. That the chronicler believed he was actually king in Babylon is proved by l. 9. The simplest reconciliation of this passage with the List of Kings and the Babylonian Chronicle is to assign Erba-Marduk's reign to the period of interregnum. Though he clearly conferred benefits on the people of Babylon and Borsippa, and was apparently recognized by the official priesthood, he may not have been universally recognized and his claims may have been disputed by other candidates. The sections of the Chronicle to which ll. 16 and 17 refer may have recounted the rise of one, or possibly two, aspirants to the throne. See further, Vol. I, chap. VIII.

Rev.

10.

11. 

12. 

13.

10. Now the Aramaeans who were in Shigiltu and Subartu seized the fields of them that dwelt in Babylon and B[orsi]ppa;

11. but (Erba-Marduk) smote them with the sword and defeated them,

12. and he took the fields and the gardens from them, and he gave them unto the men of Babylon and Borsippa.

13. In the same year in Esagila and Ezida [. . . . . the thr]one of Bêl he set up.

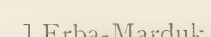
10. *mâtu A-ra-mu ša ina Ši-gil-tu u Su-bar-tu ekl^{il} a-šib Bâbili^{KI} u B[ar-si]p^{KI} i-ki-mu*

11. *ina kakki im-ḫas-su-nu-ti-ma abikta-šu-nu iš-kun*

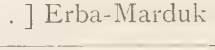
12. *ekl^{il} u kirâti^{il} i-kim-šu-nu-ti-ma ana mâr^{ê} Bâbili^{KI} u Bar-zip^{KI} id-din*

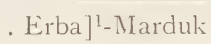
13. [*šattu*] *šiati ina E-sag-ila u E-zi-da* [. . . . . *kus*]*sû ^{iu}Bêl u-kin*

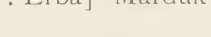
REV.

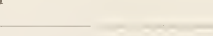
14. [. . . . .] 

[. . . . .]

15. [. . . . .] 

[. . . . .] 

16. [. . . . .] 

17. [. . . . .] 

14. [. . . . .] Erba-Marduk unto Babylon [. . . . .]

15. [. . . . . Erba]-Marduk fro[m . . . . .] went forth

16. [. . . . . -n]aṣir[2]

17. [. . . . .]

14. [. . . . .] ^{m}*Er-ba-*^{ilu}*Marduk ana Bâbili*^{ki} [. . . . .]

15. [. . . . . ^{m}*Er-ba*]-^{ilu}*Marduk išt*[*u* . . . . .] *ûṣi*

16. [. . . . . *-n*]*a-ṣir*[2]

17. [. . . . .]

[1] It is probable that we may restore the name as that of Erba-Marduk.

[2] On the possible contents of this and the following lines, see Vol. I, chap. VIII.

REV.

18. [. . . . .]

19. [. . . . .]

[. . . . .][1]

18. [. . . . .], the king of Assyria, sat upon the throne.

19. [. . . . .] sat [upon the thr]one.

[. . . . .][1]

18. [. . . . .] *šar* ^{mâtu}*Aššur ina kussî ittašab(ab)*

19. [. . . . .] *ina kus]sî ittašab(ab)*

[. . . . .][1]

[1] The lower part of the tablet, which gave the closing lines of the text and possibly a colophon, is wanting.

VII.

A Babylonian Religious Chronicle and Register of Portents referring to the Eleventh Century B.C.

[No. 35968.][1]

Col. I.

1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .] 3. [. . . . .]

4. [. . . . .] 5. [. . . . .]

6. [. . . . .] [. . . . .]

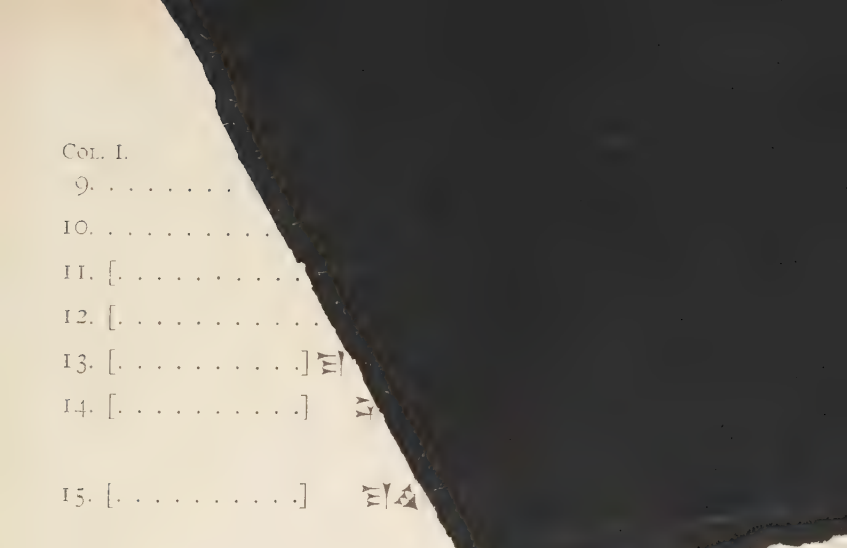
7. [. . . . .]

8. [. . . . .] [. . . . .]

1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .] Sin 3. [. . . . .]
4. [. . . . .] they [. . . . .] 5. [. . . . .]
6. [. . . . .] the Lady of Nineveh [. . . . .]
7. [. . . . .] they slew him.
8. [. . . . .] Babylon he [. . . . .]

1. [. . . . .] 2. [. . . . .] *ilu Sin* 3. [. . . . .] *pl*
4. [. . . . .] *pl-ni* 5. [. . . . .]-*ki*
6. [. . . . . *ilu*] *Bêlit Ninua* [. . . . .]
7. [. . . . .] *idûkû pl-šu*
8. [. . . . .] *Bâbili* KI *it-ta-*[. . . . .]

[1] The tablet measures 4 in. in breadth and 3¼ in. in length; for a full discussion of its contents, see Vol. I, chap. IX.

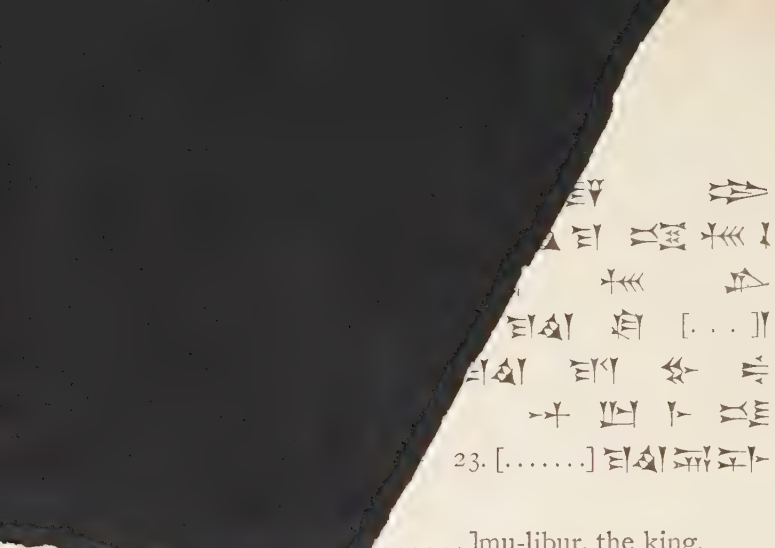


Col. I.

9. . . . . .
10. . . . . .
11. [. . . . . .
12. [. . . . . .
13. [. . . . . .]
14. [. . . . . .]
15. [. . . . . .]

9. [. . . . . .]
10. [. . . . . .]t
11. [. . . . .] the river Tigris
12. [. . . . .] he [. . . . .]
13. [. . . . .] up to the Gate of Traffic
14. [. . . . .] Bît-Ursag, which is in the district of Nippur,
15. [. . . . .] with her they beheld him

9. [. . . . .] ^{ilu}*Bêlit* [. . . . .]
10. [. . . . .]-GAR *illikû*^{pl}-*ni*
11. [. . . . .] ^{mâtu}*Idiglat*
12. [. . . . .] *it-te-* [. . . . .]
13. [. . . . . -*m*]*a a-di abulli mahîri*
14. [. . . . .] *Bît-*^{ilu}*Ur-sag ša pihât Nippuri*^{KI}
15. [. . . . .] *it-ti-ša i-mu-ru-š*[*u*]



23. [.....]

.....]mu-libur, the king,
17. [a lion couched and they slew him.
18. [.....] they went
19. [.....] he [.....]
20. [.....] he was plotting
21. [.....] the goddess Tashmetum
22. [.....] was seen 23. [.....] was seen

16. [.....]-*mu*(-)*li-bur šarru*
17. [.....] *nêšu irbiṣ-ma idûkû*^{pl}-*šu*
18. [..... *illikû*^{pl}-*ni*
19. [.....]-*li id-di*-[.....]
20. [.....]-*šu id-da-bu-ub*
21. [.....] ^{ilu}*Taš-me-tum*
22. [.....] *it-tan-mar* 23. [.....] *it-tan-mar*

---

[1] The traces before read ; see further, Vol. I, chap. IX.

Col. I.

24. [. . . . .] 25. [. . . . .]

26. [. . . . . .]

Col. II.

1.

2.

Col. I.

24. [. . . . .] him and 25. [. . . . .] the lower [. . . . .]

26. [. . . . .]

Col. II.

1. On the eleventh day of the month Iyyar the king[1] arri[ved, and]

2. the young beasts for the going forth of Bêl he [slaughtered], and he did not [. . . . .].

Col. I.

24. [. . . . .]-*us-su-ma* 25. [. . . . .] *šaplî(i)*

26. [. . . . .]

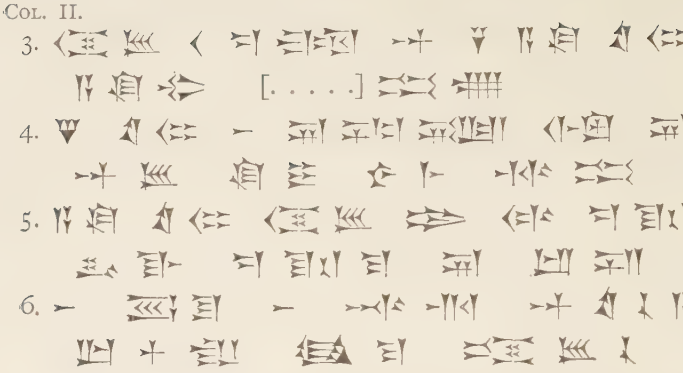
Col. II.

1. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Airu ûmu* XI^{KAM} *šarru*[1] *ik-šu-da*[*u-ma*]

2. *buḫadê*^{pl} *ša a-ṣi-e* ^{ilu}*Bêl u-n*[*ak-kis*]-*ma ul* [. . . . .]

[1] For a discussion of the evidence available for the identification of this king, during whose reign the events recorded in Col. II took place, see Vol. I, chap. IX.

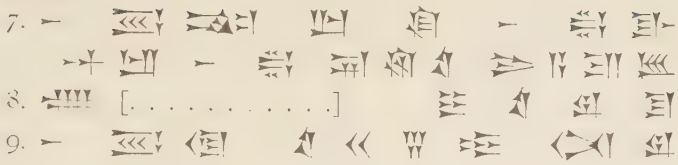
Col. II.



3. The offerings and the vessels for the god, which up to the day of the Festival of the New Year they had [receiv]ed,
4. for four days in Esagil and the temples of the gods they offered as is fitting.
5. Until the day of the offerings the king did not pour out the libation, but the *urigallu*-priest poured out the libation and administered the temple.
6. In the month Tammuz a jackal couched on the western bank (of the Euphrates), and they slew him.

3. *niḳê^{pl} u paššur ili ša a-di u-mi a-ki-tim* [*il*]-*ḳu-u*
4. IV *u-mi ina E-sag-ila u bît ilâni^{pl} ki-i šal-me iḳ-ḳu*
5. *a-di u-mi niḳê^{pl} šarru ul is-ruḳ urigallu is-ruḳ-ma bîta ip-ḳid*
6. *ina ^{arḫu}Dûzu ina ebirti erîb ^{itu}Šamši barbaru irbiṣ-ma idûkû^{pl}-šu*

Col. II.



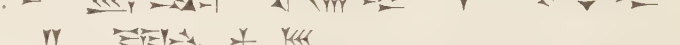
7. In the month Ab a dog in the Gate of Ninib in the doorway of E-shag-utu of the physicians
8. [. . . . .] and they caught him.
9. On the twenty-fifth day of the month Tisri a leopard
10. crossed the river (*i.e.*, the Euphrates) alive, and in the treasury of the temple of E-gishpa-kalama [. . . . .]
11. they slew him and they took him up and carried[1] him away.

7. *ina* ^{arhu}*Abu kalbu ki ina abulli* ^{itu}*Ninib ina bâb E-šag-utu* ^{amêlu}*âsê* ^{pl}
8. *u*-[. . . . .] *i-bar-ru-šu*
9. *ina* ^{arhu}*Tišritu ûmu* XXV^{KAN} *nim-ru bal-*[*ṭ*]*u*
10. *nâra ik-ki-lip-pu-ma ina ku-tal E-giš-pa-kalam-ma* [. . . . .]
11. *i-du-ku-šu-ma ana ta-ba-li*[1] *u-še-lu-niš-šu*

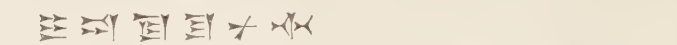
[1] It is possible that *ta-ba-li* is a substantive and not the infinitive of *tabâlu*, "to carry away."

Col. II.

12.

13. 

14.

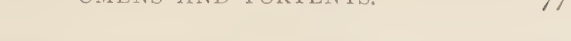
15. 

12. On the sixteenth day of the month Ab in the seventh year two deer
13. entered Babylon and they slew them.
14. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Sivan in the seventh year the day was turned to night,[1] and fire in the midst of heaven [. . . . . .]
15. In the month Elul in the eleventh year the waters came within the encircling wall of the Lower Mound.

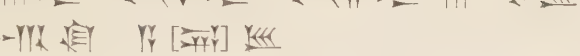
12. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Abu ûmu* XVI^{KAN} *ša šattu* VII^{KAN} II *ailê*^{pl}
13. *a-na Bâbili*^{KI} *i-ru-bu-nim-ma i-du-ku-šu-nu-ti*
14. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Simânu ûmu* XXVI^{KAN} *ša šattu* VII^{KAN} *u-mu ana mûši itûr-ma*[1] *išâtu ina libbi šamê*(*e*)[. . . . . .]
15. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Ululu ša šattu* XI^{KAN} *mê*^{pl} *ina ṣabal igari ša tili šaplî*(*i*) *illikû*^{pl}*-ni*

[1] For a discussion of the question as to whether a solar eclipse is here recorded, and for an enquiry into the date when the portent took place, see Vol. I, chap. IX.

Col. II.

16. 

17.

18. 

19.

16. In the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth years, the three years after the floods,
17. from the third day of the month Adar until the month Nisan the chariot of Bêl went not forth.
18. In the month Nisan in the fifteenth year Bêl went not forth.
19. On the fifteenth day of the month Iyyar in the seventeenth year (at) the outer wall of the Gate of the god [Ninib]

16. *šattu* XIII^{KAN} *šattu* XIV^{KAN} *šattu* XV^{KAN} III *šanâti*^{pl} *ar-ki mî*[*lé*]^{pl}
17. *narkabat-su ša* ^{ilu}*Bêl ištu ûmi* III^{KAN} *ša* ^{arḫu}*Addaru adi* ^{arḫu}*Nisannu ul* [*u-ṣa*]-*a*
18. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Nisannu ša šattu* XV^{KAN} ^{ilu}*Bêl ul u-ṣa-a*
19. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Airu ûmu* XV^{KAN} *ša šattu* XVII^{KAN} *šal-ḫu-u ša abulli* ^{ilu}[*Ninib*]

Col. II.

20.

21.

22.

23.

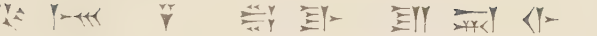
20. (a . . . .) lay in wait and they caught him. On the fifteenth day of the month Sivan in the seventeenth year [a lion]
21. went down from the Gate of Ishtar unto the river
22. and entered Babylon; and on the western bank (of the Euphrates) [. . . . .]
23. [. . . . .]. . . . . slew two men. The shrine of the Gate of the temple E-[. . . . .]

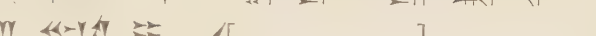
20. *ki i-du-lu i-bar-ru-šu ina* ^{arḫu}*Simânu ûmu* XV^{KAN} *ša šattu* XVII[^{KAN} . . . . .]
21. *ištu abulli* ^{ilu}*Ištar ana nâri ki-i u-ri-*[*du*]
22. *ana Bâbili*^{KI} *ki i-ru-ba ina ebirti erêb* ^{ilu}*Šamši* [. . . . .]
23. [. . . . .] *mê*^{pl} II *ṣâbê*^{pl} *id-duk parakku ša bâb E-*[. . . . .]

Col. II.

24.

25.

26. 

27. 

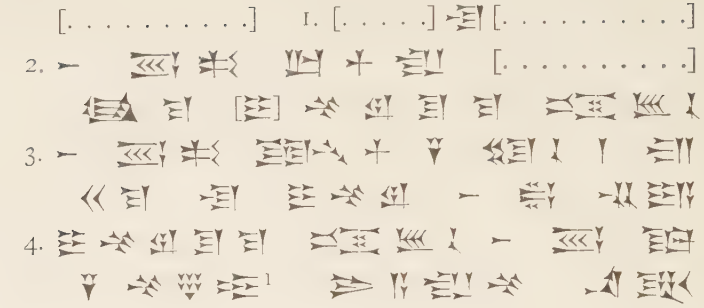
28.

29. [. . . . . .]

24. the doors of the gate of the lower . . . . . [. . . . .]
25. [. . . . .] as it fell it killed him and [. . . . .]
26. [. . . . .] they [. . . . .]. In the fourteenth year [. . . . .]
27. [. . . . .] . . . men [of the sea . . . . .]
28. [. . . . . when] they gave [. . . . .]
29. [. . . . .]

24. *dalâti*^{pl} *ša abulli su-uš-ši šap-li-i* [. . . . .]
25. [. . . . .]-*ta-tum ki im-ḳu-tu idûk-šu-ma* [. . . . .]
26. [. . . . .]-*tu-ru-ni ina šattu* XIV^{KAN} [. . . . .]
27. [. . . . .] U + GUNU^{pl} *ṣâbê*^{pl} [*tâmti* . . . . .]
28. [. . . . . *ki-i*] *id-di-nu* [. . . . .]
29. [. . . . .]

Col. III.



[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] [. . . . .]

2. [. . . . .]

3.

4. they beheld and they slew him. In the month Nisan in the seventh year[1] the Aramaeans made war;

[. . . . .] 1. [. . . . .] *la* [. . . . .]

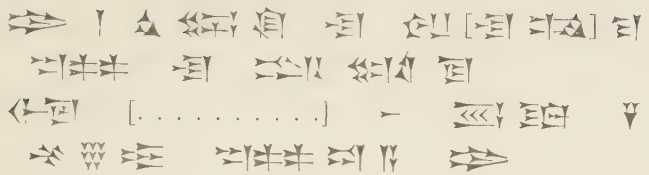
2. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Airu barbaru* [. . . . .] *irbiṣ-ma* [*i*]-*mu-ru-šu-ma idûkû*^{pl}-*šu*

3. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Airu ailu ša erêbu-šu ana ali man-ma la i-mu-ru ina bâb bêli-ia*

4. *i-mu-ru-šu-ma idûkû*^{pl}-*šu ina* ^{arḫu}*Nisannu ša šattu* VII^{KAN} ^{amêlu}*A-ra-mu na-kir*

[1] *I.e.*, of the reign of Nabû-mukîn-apli.

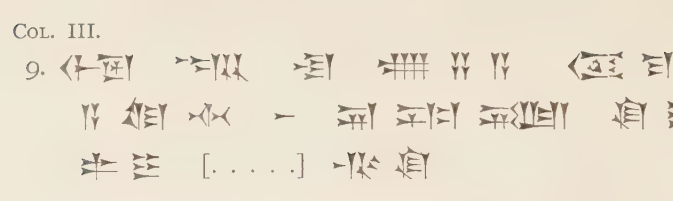
COL. III.



5. the king went not up to Babylon, and Nabû went not (thither),
6. and [.....]. In the month Nisan in the eighth year of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king,
7. the Aramaeans made war, and the Ferry Gate of the city of Kâr-bêl-mâtâti
8. they captured; and the king crossed not over, and Nabû went not (to Babylon),

5. *šarru ana Bábili*^{KI} *la el-l*[*a-a*]*m-ma* ^{iti}*Nabû la il-li-ku*
6. *u*[.....] *ina* ^{arḫu}*Nisannu ša šattu* VIII^{KAN} ^{ilu}*Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri*
7. ^{amêlu}*A-ra-mu na-kir-ma bâb ni-bi-ri ša* ^{ali}*Kar-bêl-mâtâti*
8. *iṣ-bat-ma šarru la i-bi-ram-ma* ^{ilu}*Nabû la il-li-ku*

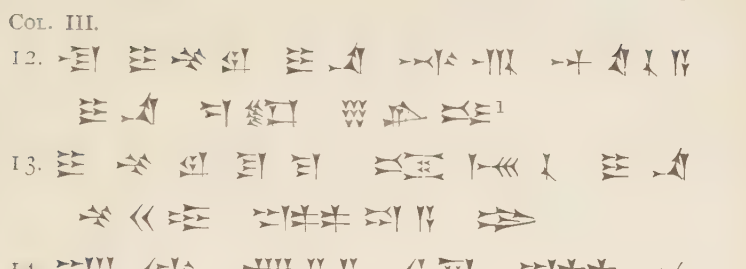
Col. III.



9. and Bêl went not forth; on the eve of the New Year's festival in E-sagila according to the word of [. . . . .] made the offering.
10. In the month Nisan in the nineteenth year of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king, the same thing occurred,
11. and the appointed offering was made. In the month Tammuz in the sixteenth year a lion, whose entrance into the city none

9. *u* ^{ilu}*Bêl la u-ṣa-a šimêtan ša a-ki-ti ina E-sag-ila ki-i pi-i*[. . . . .] *ik-ki*
10. *ina* ^{arḫu}*Nisannu ša šattu* XIX ^{KAN} ^{ilu}*Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri do.*
11. *niḳû* [*kên*]*u ibši ina* ^{arḫu}*Dûzu ša šattu* XVI ^{KAN} *nêšu ša erêbu-šu ana ali man-ma*

COL. III.



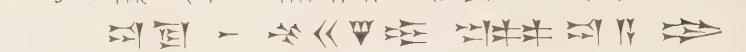
12. had beheld, on the western bank (of the Euphrates) in the eighth plantation
13. they beheld and they slew him. In the twentieth year of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king,
14. Bêl went not forth and Nabû went not (to Babylon). Afterwards for nine years together

12. *la i-mu-ru i-na ebirti erêb* ^{id}*Šamši i-na kirî samânî-tum(ni-tum)* [1]
13. *i-mu-ru-šu-ma idûkû*^{pl}*-šu i-na šattu* XX^{KAN} ^{id}*Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri*
14. ^{id}*Bêl ul u-ṣa-a u* ^{id}*Nabû ul illiku(ku)* IX *šanâti*^{pl} *arki a-ḫa-meš*

[1] This example of the fem. form of the eighth ordinal number is of interest.

Col. III.

15.

16. 

17.

18.

15. Bêl went not forth and Nabû went not (to Babylon). In the twenty-fourth year of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king,

16. the favourable deity who is at the right side of the door of the shrine of [. . . . .]

17. as he couched they captured. A malignant deity[1] in the sleeping chamber

18. of Nabû was seen. [. . . . .] upon [. . . . .] of Nabû in the midst of the flesh was seen.

15. *^{ilu}Bêl ul u-ṣa-a u ^{ilu}Nabû ul illiku(ku) ina šattu* XXIV^{KAN} *^{ilu}Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri*

16. *ilu ka-ri-bu ša imitti ša bâb pa-pa-ḫ[i] ša* [. . . . .]

17. *ki i-du-lu i-bar-ru ilu mukîl rêš limutti*[1] *ina bît-iršê^{pl}*

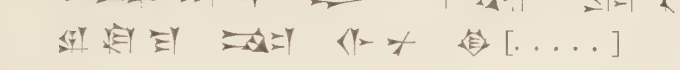
18. *ša ^{ilu}Nabû it-tan-mar* [. . . . .] *ina eli* [. . . . .] *ša ^{ilu}Nabû ina libbi šêri* [*it*]*-tan-mar*

[1] For a discussion of this phrase, see Vol. I, chap. IX.

Col. III.

19.

Col. IV.



Col. III.

19. On the twenty-first day of the month of Sebat in the twenty-sixth year of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king, Adad thundered and evil flame [.....]

Col. IV.

[.....] 1. [.....] aforetime
2. [.....] therein he caused to dwell.
3. [.....] there was no .....

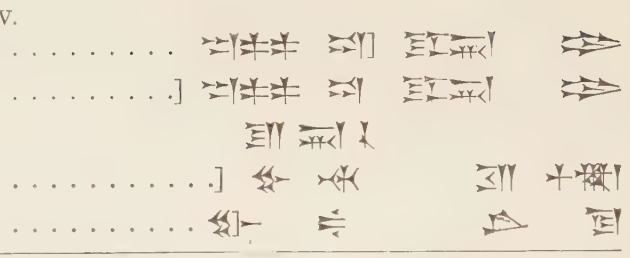
Col. III.

19. *ina* ^{arhu}*Šabâtu ûmu* XXI^{KAM} *ša šattu* XXVI^{KAM} ^{du}*Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri* ^{du}*Adad pâ-šu iddi(di)-ma išâtu lim-nu ḫar-*[.....]

Col. IV.

[.....] 1. [.....] *pa-na*
2. [..... *li*]*b-bi u-še-šib*
3. [..... *s*]*u-uš-šu ia-'a-nu*

Col. IV.



4. [. . . . . in the . . . year of Nabû-mukîn]-apli, the king,
5. [. . . . . in the . . . year of] Nabû-mukîn-apli, the king, ...
6. [. . . . .] he established
7. [. . . . .] the sword

8. [. . . . .] . . .

4. [. . . . . *ilu Nabû-mukîn*]-*apli šarri*
5. [. . . . .] *ilu Nabû-mukîn-apli šarri su-uš-šu*
6. [. . . . .]-*bu-ti iš-kun*
7. [. . . . . -*b*]*u-ub kak-ku*

8. [. . . . .]-*ḫar-ri-ri*

[1] This line forms the catch-line for the next tablet, on which was inscribed a continuation of the text. In the lower part of the column, under the catch-line, are traces of the ends of two lines belonging to the colophon.

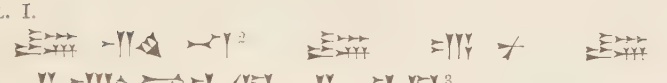
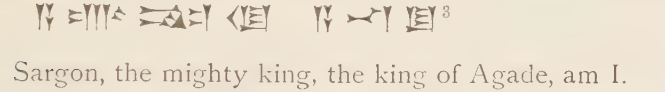
APPENDIX.

I.

The Legend of Sargon, King of Agade.

[K. 3401 + S. 2118, K. 4470, and No. 47449.][1]

Col. I.

1.  [2]  [3]

1. Sargon, the mighty king, the king of Agade, am I.

1. *Šarru-ukîn*[2] *šarru dan-nu šar A-ga-de*^{KI} *a-na-ku*[3]

---

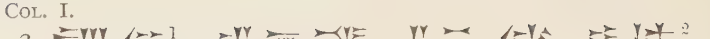
[1] The tablets K. 3401 + S. 2118 and K. 4470 and the extract from the practice-tablet No. 47449 are published in facsimile in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, Part XIII, pl. 42 f. The text of K. 3401 has been previously published by Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. of West. Asia*, Vol. III, pl. 4, No. 7, and for previous translations of the legend see George Smith, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. I, p. 46 f.; *Records of the Past*, Vol. V, p. 56 f.; *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 299 f. (George Smith's *Chaldäische Genesis*, p. 248); Menant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 99 f.; Oppert, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1883 (tirage à part, p. 6 f.); Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 208 f.; and Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 26 f., n. 1; *cf.* also Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 529. For a previous publication of the practice-tablet No. 47449, see Pinches, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. XVIII (1896), p. 257. In the present edition the text of Col. I is taken from the obverse of K. 3401 + S. 2118 with restorations and variant readings from K. 4470, Col. I, and No. 47449; Col. II is taken from the second column of K. 4470. Conjectural restorations are placed within brackets.

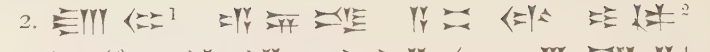
[2] No. 47449 , *Šarru-ukîn.*

[3] No. 47449 omits *a-na-ku.*

Col. I.

2.

3. 

4. 

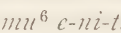
5.

2. My mother was lowly, my father I knew not,[2]
3. and the brother of my father dwelleth in the mountain.
4. My city is Azupirânu, which lieth on the bank of the Euphrates.
5. My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth.

2. *um-mi*[1] *e-ni-tum a-bi ul i-di*[2]
3. *aḫ*[3] *abi-ia i-ra-mi ša-da-a*[4]
4. *a-li* $^{\text{âlu}}$*A-zu-pi-ra-a-ni*[5] *ša i-na a-ḫi* $^{\text{nâru}}$*Puratti šak-nu*
5. *i-ra-an-ni um-mu*[6] *e-ni-tum i-na pu-uz-ri u-lid-an-ni*[7]

---

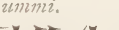
[1] No. 47449 , *ummi*.

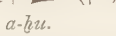
[2] No. 47449  , *abu la i-ši*, "a father I had not."

[3] No. 47449 , *a-ḫu*.

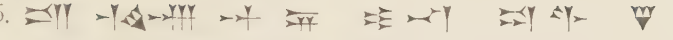
[4] No. 47449 , *šadâ i-ra-am-mu*. In K. 3401 + S. 2118, ll. 2 and 3 are written in one line, divided by .

[5] K. 4470 , $^{\text{âlu}}$*A-zu-pi-ra-nu*.

[6] K. 4470  , *um-mi*; No. 47449 , *ummu*.

[7] No. 47449  , *ina pu-uz-zu u-lid-da-an-ni*; (*zu*) is probably a mistake of the scribe for .

COL. I.

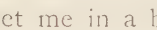
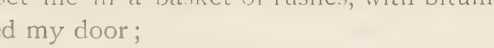
6. 

7.

8.

6. She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door;
7. she cast me into[1] the river, which (rose) not over me.
8. The river bore me up, unto Akki, the irrigator it carried me.

6. *iš-kun-an-ni i-na ḳup-pi ša šu-ri*[1] *i-na*[2] *iddî bâbi-ia ip-ḫi*
7. *id-dan-ni*[3] *a-na* [*nâ*]*ri ša la e-li-e-a*
8. *iš-ša-an-ni nâru a-na eli* ^{m}*Ak-ki* ^{amelu}*nâk-mê u-bil-an-ni*[4]

[1] K. 4470  , *šu-u-*[*ri*]; No. 47449  , *iš-ku-na-an-ni ina ḳu-up-pu ša šu-u-šu.* There is a word *šûšu*, "sprout" or "twig," but is probably a mistake of the scribe for .

[2] No. 47449 , *ina.*

[3] K. 4470 , *id-dan-an-ni*, "she gave me to the river."

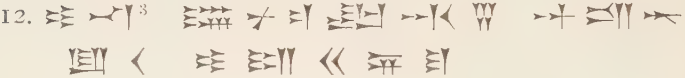
[4] K. 4470 reads , *u-bi-la-an-ni.*

Col. I.

9.

10.

11.

12. 

9. Akki, the irrigator, with . . [. . .] lifted me out,
10. Akki, the irrigator, as his own son [. . . . .] reared me,
11. Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener appointed me.
12. While I was a gardener the goddess Ishtar loved me,

9. *^{m}Ak-ki ^{amêlu}nâḳ-mê i-na hi-ib-*[. .]*-li-*[. .] *lu-u*[1] *u-še-la-an-ni*
10. *^{m}Ak-ki ^{amêlu}nâḳ-mê a-na ma-ru-ti-šu* [. . . . .] *u-rab-ban*[2]*-ni*
11. *^{m}Ak-ki ^{amêlu}nâḳ-mê a-na ^{amêlu} . . . . . -ti-šu lu-u* [*iš*]*-kun-*[*an-ni*]
12. *i-na*[3] ^{amêlu} . . . . . *-ti-ia ^{ilu}Iš-tar lu-u i-ra-man-ni-ma*

---

[1] So K. 4470; K. 3041 + S. 2118 omits ⟨.

[2] K. 4470 reads ⟩⊏| ⟩⊢, *ba-an.*

[3] K. 3401 + S. 2118 probably reads ⟩, *ina.*

Col. I.

13. [. .]

14. [] [1]
  [. . . . .]

15. [ ] [2]

[. . . . .]

16. [ ] [3]   []

13. and for [. . . .]-four years I ruled the kingdom.
14. The black-headed [people]s I ruled, I gov[erned];
15. mighty [mountain]s with axes of bronze did I des[troy].
16. I bolted fast the upp[er] mountains;

13. [. .]IV *šanâti*^{pl} *šarru-u-ta lu-u e-pu-uš*
14. [*niše*]^{pl} *ṣalmât ḳaḳḳadi*[1] *lu-u a-be-el lu-u aš-*[*pur*]
15. [*šadê*]*e*^{pl} *dannûti*^{pl} *ina aḳ-ḳul-la-te ša erî*^{pl} *lu-u ub-*[*bit*]
16. [*lu-u*] *e-dil-li ša-di-i*[3] *e-lu-*[*ti*]

---

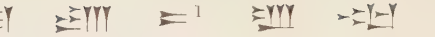
[1] K. 4470 , *ṣal-mat ḳaḳḳadi.*

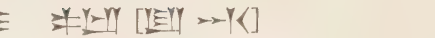
[2] K. 4470 [. . .] , [*šadî*](*i*).

[3] K. 4470 , *šad-di-i.*

Col. I.

17. [. . . . .]

18. [. . .] 

19. 

20. [

21. [. . . . .]

17. I burst through the low[er] mountains.
18. [The Country] of the Sea three times did I besiege;
19. Dilmun did [. . . . .].
20. [Unto] the great Dûr-ilu [I went up], I [. . . . .].
21. [. . . . .] I altered [. . . . .].

17. [*lu-u*] *at-ta-*[*nab*][1]*-lak-ka-ta ša-di-i šap-l*[*u-ti*]
18. [*ma*]*-ti ti-amat lu-u al-ma-a* III *šanîtu*
19. *Dilmun*[KI] *lu-u ik-*[. . . . .]
20. [*a-n*]*a Dûr-ilu*[KI] *rabî*(*i*) [*lu-u e-li*] *lu-u* [. . . . .]
21. [. . . . .]*-ni lu u-nak-kir-ma* [. . . . .]

---

[1] It is possible that the text is corrupt and that *tab* ( ) has been written by mistake for *nab* ( ); otherwise we must assume the existence of an Ittatafal form of the verb. We may compare an Iftatael form *al-ta-tap-pa-rak-ka* (in K. 3426, Obv., l. 14, published in *Cuneiform Texts*, Pt. XIII, pl. 48); here also the scribe may have made a mistake, writing for , which would give the regular Ifteal form *al-ta-ap-rak-ka*.

COL. I.

22. [ ]

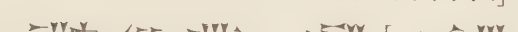
23. [. . . . .]

24. [. . . . .]

25. [ ] [. . . . .]

26.

27. [. . . . .]

28. [. . .] 

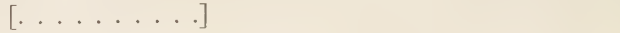
22. Whatsoever king shall be exalted after me,
23. [. . . . .],
24. let him [rule, let him govern] the black-headed peoples;
25. mighty [mountain]s with axes [of bronze let him destroy].
26. Let him bolt fast the upper mountains;
27. [let him burst through the lower mountains].
28. The Country of the Sea let him three times besiege;

22. [*man*]-*nu šarru ša i-la-a arki-ia*
23. [. . . . .]
24. [*ni*]*še*^{pl} *ṣalmât ḳaḳḳadi li-b*[*e-el li-iš-pur*]
25. [*šadê*]^{pl} *dannûti*^{pl} *ina aḳ-ḳul-la-*[*te ša erî*^{pl} *lib-bi-it*]
26. [*l*]*i-te-dil-li šadê*^{pl} *elûti*^{pl}
27. [*lit-ta-nab-lak-kat šade*^{pl} *šaplûti*^{pl}]
28. [*m*]*a-ti ti-amat lil-ma-a* III *šanîtu*

Col. I.

29. [. . . . . .]

30. [
[. . . . . .]

31. [. . . . . .]

[. . . . . .]

32. [. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]

Col. II. (K. 4470).

1. [. . . . . .] 2.
[. . . . . .]

Col. I.

29. [let Dilmun . . . . .].

30. [Unto] the great Dûr-ilu let him go up, and [let him . . . . .].

31. [. . . . .] from my city of Aga[de . . . . .]

32. [. . . . .] . . [. . . . .]
[. . . . .]

Col. II (K. 4470).

1. [. . . . .] 2. and [. . . . .]

Col. I.

29. [*Dilmun*^{KI} . . . . .]

30. [*a-na D*]*ûr-ilu*^{KI} *rabî*(*i*) *li-li-ma* [. . . . .]

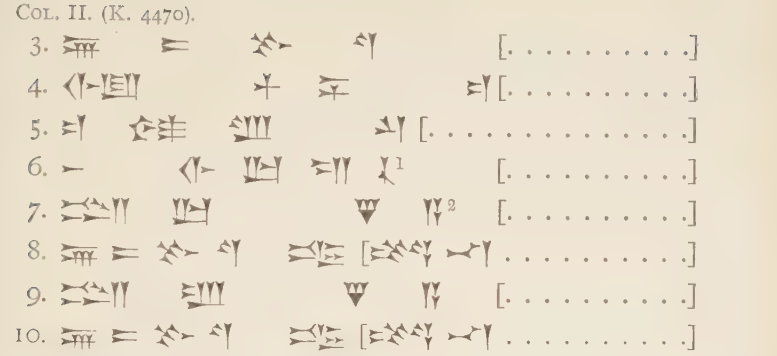
31. [. . . . .] *ul-tu ali-ia A-ga-*[*de*^{KI} . . . . .]

32. [. . . . .] *aš mul* [. . . . .]
[. . . . .]

Col. II (K. 4470).

1. [. . . . .] 2. *u šu-*[. . . . .]

COL. II. (K. 4470).



3. There couched [a .....]
4. and a gazelle [.....]
5. A bird [.....]
6. Before his ... [.....]
7. There came... [.....]
8. There couched a wild ass [.....]
9. There cometh .. [.....]
10. There coucheth a [wild] ass [.....]

3. *ir-tap-pu-ud* [.....]
4. *u ṣabîtu is-*[.....]
5. *iṣ-ṣu-ru ḳa-*[.....]
6. *ina pân ur-si-šu*[1] [.....]
7. *il-lik ša-a-*[2][.....]
8. *ir-tap-pu-ud pur*[*imu* .....]
9. *il-lak ša-a-*[.....]
10. *ir-tap-pu-ud pur*[*imu* .....]

[1] The reading of the phrase is uncertain; if ŠI + UR may be taken as a single sign, it might possibly be rendered *ina limutti ḳarni-šu.*

[2] The word here and in l. 9 may possibly be restored as *ša-a-*[*ru*].

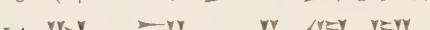
Col. II. (K. 4470).

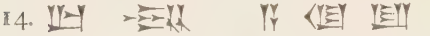
11. [. . . . . .]

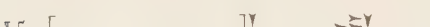
12. [. . . . . .]

13. [. . . . . .]

14. [. . . . . .]

15. [. . . . .]  [. . . . . .]

16. [. . . .  [. . . . . .]

17. [. . . . .]  [. . . . . .]

[. . . . . .]

11. There flieth [. . . . .]
12. Four mules . . [. . . . .]
13. A lion shall not come [. . . . .]
14. A devouring lion [. . . . .]
15. [. . . . .] not [. . . . .]
16. [There couch]ed in [. . . . .]
17. [. . . . .] [. . . . .]

11. *i-ša-'u-u* [. . . . .]
12. IV *pa-ri-i la*[1] [. . . . .]
13. *ul i-lak nê*[*šu* . . . . .]
14. *nêšu a-ki-lu* [. . . . .]
15. [. . . . .] *la* [. . . . .]
16. [*ir-tap-p*]*u-ud ina* [. . . . .]
17. [. . . . .]*a* [. . . . .]
[. . . . .]

---

[1] The traces following do not appear to be those of *mu*; otherwise the word might possibly be restored as *la-si-*[*mu-tî*].

II.

A New Date-List of the Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

[No. 80,037 with restorations from S. 16 (I.O.M.), No. 92,702, and No. 16,924.][1]

[1] The text of No. 80,037 is published below, pp. 181 ff. The tablet is a new duplicate of the "Chronicle of the Kings of the First Dynasty," which was edited and translated from two tablets in the British Museum (Nos. 92,702 and 16,924) in my *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, Vol. III, pp. 212 ff.; this new duplicate, when complete, covered the period from the 1st year of Hammurabi to the 17th year of Ammi-zaduga, and the portion of it that is preserved enables us to restore several of the missing date-formulae. S. 16 is part of a small tablet from Abū Habba inscribed with the formulae for the opening years of the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, and it is preserved in the Imperial Ottoman Museum at Constantinople; it has been previously transliterated and translated by Lindl, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Bd. IV, p. 342 f., and by Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, Mémoires, t. II, p. 83. When staying in Constantinople in the autumn of 1902 I was enabled, through the kindness of Hamdi Bey, to make a copy of the original tablet (S. 16), and, as my copy differs in several points from the transliterations published by Lindl and Scheil, it is published on p. 193 of this volume. The new duplicate No. 80,037 is preserved in the British Museum, and measures 4 in. in height and $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. in breadth. Its text is here transliterated and translated, with restorations and variant readings from S. 16 (cited as D) and Nos. 92,702 and 16,924 (cited as A and B respectively). The gaps which occur in the new text from the 26th year of Hammurabi to his 39th year, and from the 13th year of Samsu-iluna to the 30th year of Ammi-ditana may be partially filled in from Nos. 92,702 and 16,924; see my *Letters of Hammurabi*, III, pp. 234 ff., 244 ff. For a fuller description of the new duplicate No. 80,037 and a discussion of the additional information it supplies, see Vol. I, chap. VII.

I.—Reign of Hammurabi.

YEAR

1. MU *Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi* LUGAL - E
2. MU NIG - SI - DI[1] KALAM - MA[2] IN - GAR
3. MU GIŠ - GU - ZA BARA - MAḪ (DINGIR) URU - KI KA-DINGIR-RA MU-UN-NA-DIM[3]
4. MU BAD MAL[4] - GI - A BA - RU
5. MU [. . . . .] DINGIR-RA[5] M[U]-UN-[N]A-AN-DIM
6. MU BAD (DINGIR) LA - AZ[6]

1. The year of Hammurabi, the king.
2. The year in which righteousness[1] was established in the land.[2]
3. The year in which the throne of the exalted shrine of Nannar was made in Babylon.[3]
4. The year in which the wall of Malgia[4] was built.
5. The year in which the [. . . . .] of the god[5] was made.
6. The year in which the fortress of the goddess Laz (was built).[6]

---

[1] The scribe of D has written KI for DI by mistake.

[2] A gives the variant reading M[A]-D[A].

[3] So D; A gives the shorter formula [MU] GIŠ-GU-ZA (DINGIR)URU-[KI].

[4] The scribe of D has written GA for MAL by mistake.

[5] The traces on A may be possibly read, not as MU [. . . . .] DINGIR-RA [. . . . .], but as MU E[N] K[A]-AŠ-BAR-RA[. . . . .], "the year in which the lord, the maker of decisions [. . . . .]."

[6] The traces of the syllable of the goddess's name upon A are probably those of LA. On D a fuller formula is given, the verb [MU]-UN-[NA-AN]-DIM being supplied.

YEAR.

7. MU B[AD] I - SI - IN - NA (KI) [1]
8. MU [. . . . .] *E - mu - ut - ba - lum* (KI) [2]
9. MU (ID) *Ḫa - am - mu - ra - bi - ḫegallu* [3]
10. MU ṢAB A - LAM [4] MA - AL - GI - A
11. MU *Ra - bi - ḳu* (KI) U *Š[a] - l[i] - bi* [5]
12. MU GIŠ - GU - ZA (DINGIR) *Ṣar - pa - ni - tum*

7. The year in which the [wall] of Isin (was . . . . .).[1]
8. The year in which [. . . . .] the land of Emut-bal(. . . . .).[2]
9. The year in which the Hammurabi-khegallu [3] Canal (was dug).
10. The year in which the inhabitants and the cattle [4] of Malgia (were carried off).
11. The year in which the cities of Rabiḳu and Shalibi (were captured).[5]
12. The year in which the throne of Ṣarpanitum (was made).

[1] A reads I-SI-IN[. . . . .], which may probably be restored as I-SI-IN-[NA(KI)]. The traces of the sign preceding I-SI-IN on A are probably those of BAD. For a further discussion of the formula for this year, see Vol. I, chap. VII.

[2] A gives a variant formula for this year, reading MU MA-[D]A TIG (ID) *Nu-ḫu-[uš-ni-ši]*, "the year in which the district on the banks of the Nukhush-nishi-Canal (was . . . . .)."

[3] The traces of the sign following *bi* on A are those of ḪE.

[4] The traces of the third and fourth characters in the line preserved by A are also those of A-LAM (Br. No. 6635).

[5] A gives the abbreviated form of the date for this year as MU *K[a]-b[i] k[u]*(KI).

YEAR.

13. MU UMU[1]-KI LUGAL GUB[2] DU MAḪ-BI
14. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA (DINGIR) NINNI KA-DINGIR-RA(KI)
15. MU ALAM-BI VII-A-AN[3]
16. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA (DINGIR) NA-BI-UM
17. MU ALAM (DINGIR) NINNI U (DINGIR) MER GAK-KU[4]
18. MU NIN[5]-MAḪ (DINGIR) EN-LIL-RA
19. MU BAD IGI-ḪAR-SAG-GA[6]
20. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA (DINGIR) MER-RI

13. The year in which the king entered Umu-ki[1] and great abundance (was established).
14. The year in which the throne of Ishtar of Babylon (was made).
15. The year in which his (*i.e.*, Hammurabi's) seven images (were made).[3]
16. The year in which the throne of Nabû (was made).
17. The year in which the images of Ishtar and Adad . . . . .[4]
18. The year in which the exalted lady[5] of Bel (. . . .).
19. The year in which the fortress of Igi-kharsagga (was built).[6]
20. The year in which the throne of Adad (was made).

---

[1] The traces of this sign upon A are clearly those of UM, not AB, for the two upright wedges are written quite distinctly.

[2] A gives the variant [GU]B-BA.

[3] A reads MU ALAM-B[I] VII(= IMIN)-NA.

[4] A and B read GAK-KI; it is possible that the last sign in the line on C is also KI, not KU.

[5] The traces of the sign suggest NIN rather than BARA.

[6] B gives the variant reading [. . . . .]EN-IGI-ḪAR-SAG-GA.

YEAR.

21. [MU] BAD (URU) *Ba* - [*ṣu*].[1]
22. [MU] ALAM *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* LUGAL NIG-SI-DI[2]
23. [MU . . . . .] ZIMBIR(KI) - RA[3]
24. [MU . . . . .] (DINGIR) EN-LIL- RA
25. [MU BAD Z]IMBIR(KI) - RA[4]

21. The year in which the wall of the city of Baṣu (was . . . .).[1]
22. The year in which the image of Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, (was made).[2]
23. The year in which the [. . . . .] of the city of Sippar (was . . . . .).[3]
24. The year in which [. . . . .] for Bêl (was made).
25. The year in which the wall of the city of Sippar (was built).[4]

[1] B reads *Ba-ṣu*(KI), A [*B*]*a-zu*(KI). The scribe of C has written IUM by mistake for ṢU. That the name is to be read as *Baṣu* and not *Balum* is clear from the variant reading of A, and from tablets dated by this formula (see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, Vol. III, p. 234, n. 56).

[2] A and B gave the abbreviated formula [MU ALAM] *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi*. It may be noted that on D the line extends to the edge of Col. II, so that the sign DI is written almost over the sign for the numeral X, which is inscribed opposite the 10th year of Samsu-iluna.

[3] A and B omit RA. Between the 22nd and the 24th years there are two lines on B which read [. . . . .]NUN-KI and [. . . . . U]D-KIB-NUN-KI-RA. The most probable explanation is that the scribe of B has written the same formula twice by mistake, the second time adding the postposition RA; see Vol. I, chap. VII.

[4] A and B omit RA; B reads [. . . . . Z]IMBIR(KI) BA-RU.

[The text of No. 80037 is wanting from the 26th year to the 39th year of Hammurabi's reign.][1]

YEAR.

40. M[U .....]
41. MU [.....]
42. MU BAD [.....](KI)[2]
43. MU SAḪAR ZIM[BIR(KI)] (URU) *Ul*-[(DINGIR) *Šamaš*-GE][3]

XLIII MU *Ḫa - am - mu - r[a - bi* LUGAL - E]

[.....][1]

40. The year in which [.....]
41. The year in which [.....]
42. The year in which the wall of the city[2] of [.....] (was .....).
43. The year in which the dust of the cities of Sippar and Ul-Shamash (.....).[3]

The forty-three years of Hammurabi, the king.

---

[1] For the readings of A and B for these years, see my *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, pp. 234 ff.

[2] The reading of the determinative KI at the end of the line is taken from A.

[3] The line is restored from A and from the date upon Bu. 91-5-9, 2369 (see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, p. 241, n. 73).

II.—Reign of Samsu-iluna.

YEAR.

1. MU *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* LU[GAL-E . . . . .] NAM-EN-BI KUR-KUR-R[A . . . . .] IN-GAR [1]
2. MU DAGAL-AR-GI KI-EN-GI(KI) [URI . . . . .] [2]
3. MU (ID) *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na-[na]-ga-[ab]-nu-ḫu-uš-ni-ši* MU-UN-BA-AL [3]
4. MU (ID) *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na - ḫegallu* MU-UN-BA-AL [4]

1. The year of Samsu-iluna, the king, in which his dominion over the world [. . . . .] was established.[1]
2. The year in which the independence of Sumer [and Akkad was established].[2]
3. The year in which the canal named Samsu-iluna-nagab-nukhush-nishi was dug.[3]
4. The year in which the canal named Samsu-iluna-khegallu was dug.[4]

[1] The verb IN-GAR is restored at the end of the line from D; A gives the abbreviated formula [M]U *Sa-am-s]u-i-lu-na* LUGAL-E.

[2] The verb was probably omitted by both A and B.

[3] B reads MU (ID)*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na-[na-ga-ab]-nu-uḫ-ši*; the verb, which is restored from D, was probably omitted by C.

[4] The verb is restored from D; it is omitted by B, and was probably omitted by C.

YEAR.

5. MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-GE [(DINGIR) UR]U-KI (DINGIR) SAG-DU-[GUD] [1]
6. MU ALAM KA-ŠU (DINGIR)[. . . . .] BI [. . . . .] [2]
7. MU GIŠ - KU - ŠU - NIR [3]
8. MU UMU-KI LUGAL GUB ḪAR-SAG ID AŠ-AŠ-BI [4]
9. MU UMMAN *Ka - aš - šu - u* [5]

5. The year in which the throne of the shrine of Nannar and Sag-du-gud (was made).[1]
6. The year in which the image . . . . . of the god [. . . . . (was made)].[2]
7. The year in which the *maṣrakhu* (was made).[3]
8. The year in which the king entered Umu-ki, and mountain and river alike (gave abundance).[4]
9. The year in which the army of the Kassites (. . . . .).[5]

---

[1] B gives the abbreviated formula MU GIŠ-GU-ZA BARA-GE, the fuller formula occurring upon D. The scribe of D has written the third line of the obverse round the edge of the tablet, and has afterwards rewritten the sign GAR at the end of l. 2; he has thus obliterated GUD, the sign at the end of the last line of the reverse.

[2] The line has been restored from D, with which the reading of C agrees. The traces on B suggest the variant reading MU ALAM UNU GI, but the last two signs are not certain.

[3] The formula for the seventh year has been omitted by the scribe of D, probably by mistake.

[4] The line is restored from B; D omits AŠ-AŠ-BI at the end of the line. That the second sign in the line is UM and not AB is clear from the reading of A for the 13th year of Hammurabi; see above, p. 100, n. 1.

[5] For this year D gives the variant formula MU UŠ-SA UMU-KI LUGAL GUB, "The year after that in which the king entered Umu-ki."

YEAR.

10. MU	UMMAN	I-DA	MA	-	RA	-	AZ[1]
11. MU	BAD	URU (KI)					UNUG (KI)
12. MU	KUR	AM	-	SI	-	A	

[The text of No. 80037 is wanting for the remaining years of Samsu-iluna.][2]

10. The year in which the army .....[1]
11. The year in which the wall(s) of the cities of Ur and Erech (were built).
12. The year in which the land of Amsia (.....
[.....][2]

III.—Reign of Abêshu'.

[The text of No. 80037 is wanting for the reign of Abêshu'.][3]

---

[1] The formulae for the 10th, 11th, and 12th years are restored from A and B. In the formula for the 10th year the last five signs are clearly not to be taken as *i-da-ma-ra-as*, *i.e.*, "the year in which the army was smitten with sickness," for in no other instance in the formulae upon the date-lists does a Semitic verb occur. The only Semitic words that are found are proper names, the language in which the formulae are expressed being invariably Sumerian. The rebuilding of the walls of Ur and Erech, recorded in the formula for the 11th year, may have been due to their destruction by the Kassites two years before.

[2] For the readings of A and B for these years, see my *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, pp. 244 ff.

[3] Traces of a few formulae, probably referring to the early years of the reign of Abêshu', are preserved on Col. III of B; see my *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, Vol. II, pl. 232, and Vol. III, p. 248 f.

IV.—Reign of Ammi-ditana.

[The text of No. 80037 is wanting for the first thirty years of Ammi-ditana's reign.][1]

YEAR.

31. MU (DINGIR) NIN-IB GAR-SAG ID-DAḪ-A-NI-KU [2]
32. MU BAD *Iš* - [*ku* - *u*]*n* - (DINGIR) *Marduk*(KI) [3]
33. MU BIL EGIR BAD *Iš-ku*( ) [4]
34. MU ALAM NAM - UR - SAG - GE *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* [5]

31. The year in which the god Ninib . . . . . .[2]
32. The year in which the wall of Ishkun-Marduk (was built).[3]
33. The year after that in which the wall of Ishku(n-Marduk was built)[4].
34. The year in which the image of the might of Samsu-iluna(. . . . .).[5]

---

[1] For the formulae referring to the earlier years of Ammi-ditana's reign (preserved by B), see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, pp. 248 ff.

[2] So the traces upon B are to be read.

[3] The new text confirms my suggested restoration of the name of the city as Ishkun-Marduk (see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, p. 250 f.).

[4] The line is here restored from B, in which the formula occurs under this abbreviated form.

[5] The formula for this year is written in a single line in B, which reads MU [ALAM NAM]-UR-SAG-GE *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*. In C the formula takes up two lines of the tablet; the traces of characters at the beginning of the second line are very uncertain, but they may probably be read as the first four signs of Samsu-iluna's name.

YEAR.

35. MU *Dûr - Am - mi - dı - ta - na* (KI)
36. MU BIL EGIR *Dûr - Am - mi - di* ( )[1]
37. MU BAD [. . .][2] BAD KI - [. . . . .]

XXXVII MU *Am - mi - d*[*i*] - *t*[*a - n*]*a* [LUGAL - E]

35. The year in which Dûr-Ammi-ditana (was built).
36. The year after that in which Dûr-Ammi-di(tana was built).[1]
37. The year in which the wall [. . . . .]

The thirty-seven years of Ammi-ditana, the king.

V.—Reign of Ammi-zaduga.

1. MU *Am-mi-za-du-ga* LU[GAL-E . . . . .]
   (DINGIR) EN-LIL [. . . . .][3]
2. MU SIBA [. . . . .]

1. The year of Ammi-zaduga, the king, in which [. . . . .] the god Bêl [. . . . .][3]
2. The year in which the shepherd [. . . . .]

[1] The last sign in the formula upon B is probably DI, not KI; *cf.* the abbreviated formula for the thirty-third year.

[2] There are traces of only one sign between the two signs for BAD upon B; one sign only is wanting at the end of the line.

[3] In C the formulae for the accession-years of the various kings appear to have been always given under their fuller forms, to judge from the two preserved in the reigns of Ammi-zaduga and Samsu-iluna (see above, p. 103). It is probable that Ammi-zaduga ascribed his accession to the direct intervention of Bel, and duly commemorated the god's action in the formula for the year.

YEAR.

3. MU BIL EGIR SI[BA[1] . . . . .]
4. MU [. . . . .]
5. MU ALAM [. . . . .][2]
6. MU AŠ-[. . . . .]
7. MU (DINGIR)[3] [. . . . .]

[The text of No. 80037 is wanting for the remaining years of Ammi-zaduga's reign.][4]

3. The year after that in which the shep[herd . . . . .]
4. The year in which [. . . . .]
5. The year in which the image [. . . . .][2]
6. The year in which [. . . . .]
7. The year in which the god[3] [. . . . .]
[. . . . .][4]

[1] Slight traces of this sign are preserved.

[2] Many contracts are dated by the making of images of Ammi-zaduga under several different formulae, some of which probably refer to different years of his reign.

[3] The traces of this sign are not certain.

[4] For remains of the formulae for the ninth and tenth, or possibly of the eighth, ninth and tenth years of Ammi-zaduga's reign (preserved by B), see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, p. 252 f. The formulae from the eighth to the seventeenth years of Ammi-zaduga's reign were given by C in the lower part of Col. V and the upper part of Col. VI, which are now missing from the tablet. The new date-list (C) was thus compiled seven, or possibly eight, years later than the duplicate B, which was drawn up in the tenth year of Ammi-zaduga's reign (see *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, III, p. 253, n. 110). So far as it goes, therefore, the new tablet confirms the general accuracy of the smaller List of Kings, which assigns twenty-two years to Ammi-zaduga.

VI.—Summary.

XLIII	MU	*Ha - am - mu - ra - bi*
XXXVIII	MU	*Sa - am - su - i - lu - na*
XXVIII[1]	MU	*A - bi - e - šu - '*
XXXVII	MU	*Am - mi - di - ta - na*
XVII[2]	MU	*Am - mi - za - du - ga*
V	LUGAL - E - NE	MU - BI - NE CLXIII[3]

The forty-three years of Hammurabi.
The thirty-eight years of Samsu-iluna.
The twenty-eight[1] years of Abêshu'.
The thirty-seven years of Ammi-ditana.
The seventeen[2] years of Ammi-zaduga.

Five kings, whose years (number) one hundred and sixty-three.[3]

[1] The reading of XXVIII by the new text (C) is quite certain; see further, Vol. I, chap. VII.

[2] The tablet was evidently compiled in the seventeenth, or possibly the eighteenth, year of Ammi-zaduga's reign; for a discussion of the length of his reign, see Vol. I, chap. VII.

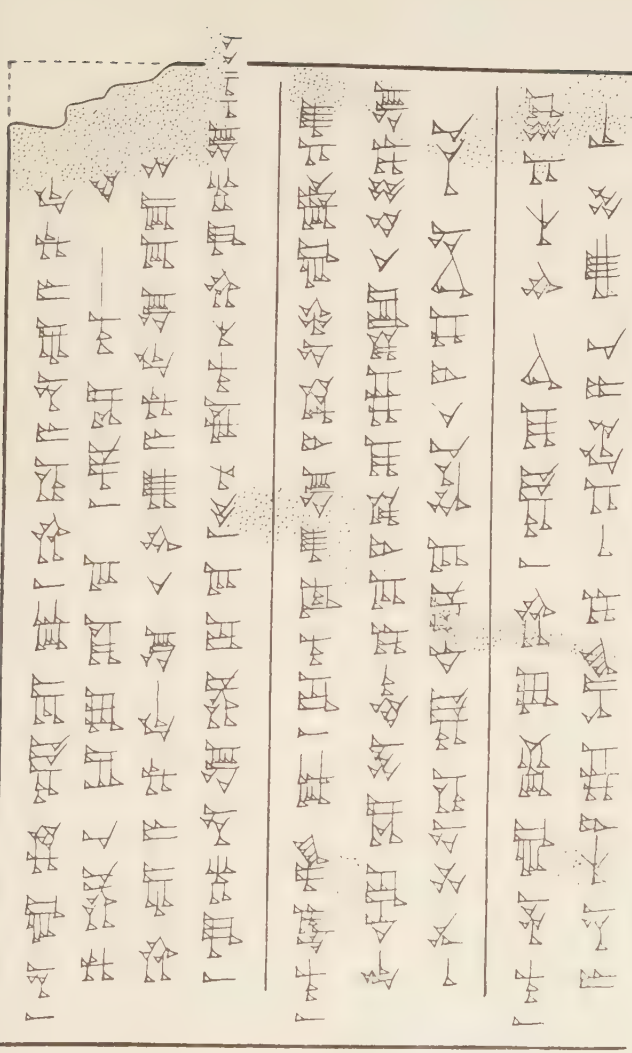
[3] The line following this summary upon the tablet appears to give the name of the scribe, though we should look for this more naturally in the colophon, traces of the first line of which may be seen at the end of the column. The signs may be read as *Šu-lu-ni-*^{ilu}*Šamaš* DUB SAR-UKU, "Shuluni-Shamash, the royal scribe." The reading of the name is not quite certain, but *Su-lu-ni* appears preferable to *Šu-ni*; the employment of UKU for LUGAL may be explained as due to the sign having formed part of the actual title.

II.

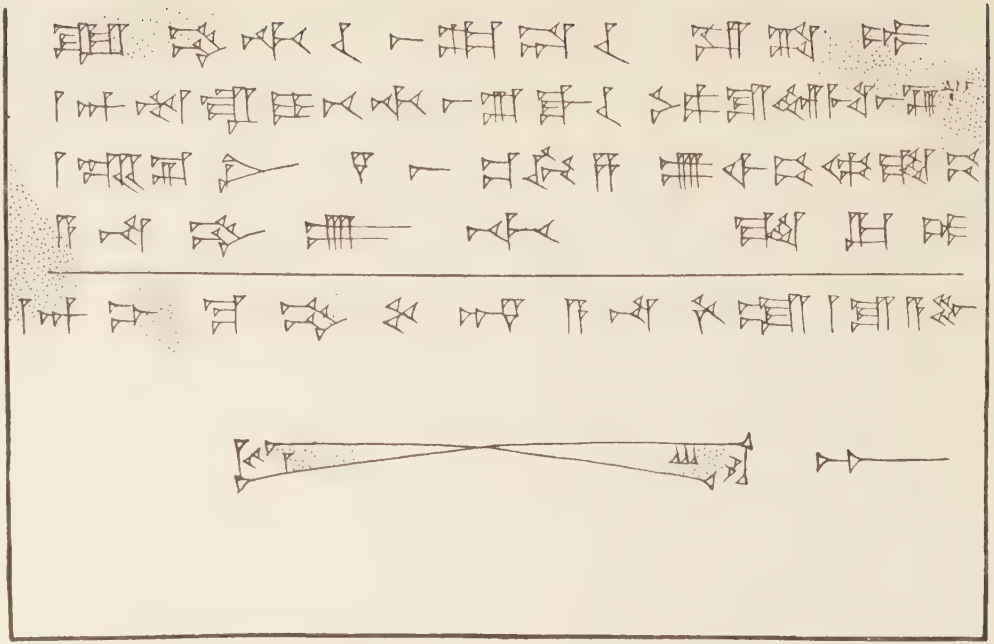
CUNEIFORM TEXTS.

Chronicle concerning Sargon, Naram-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers, Obverse, ll. 1-12
[Nos. 2047-2: see above, pp. 3 ff., and Vol. I, chap. II].

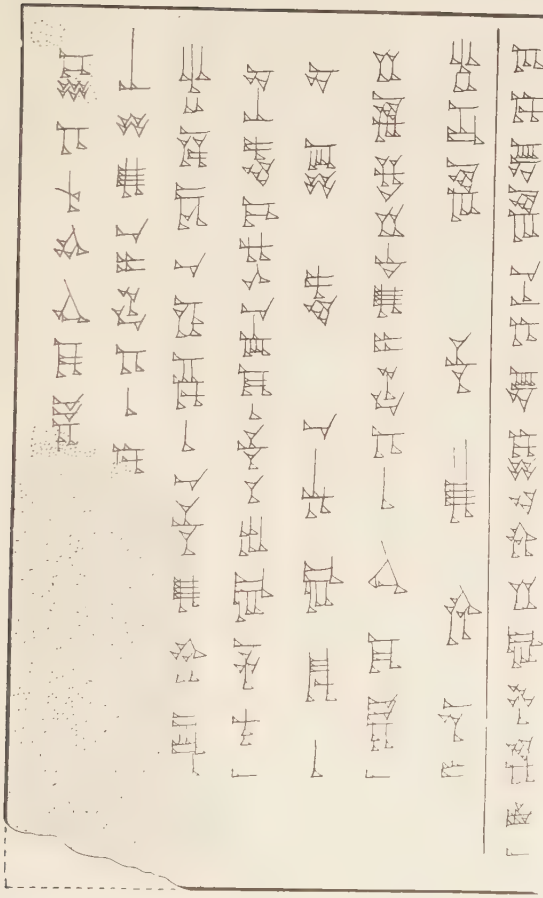
Chronicle concerning Sargon, Narâm-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers, Obverse, ll. 13-23
[No. 29472; see above, pp. 6 ff., and Vol. I, chap. II].



Chronicle concerning Sargon, Naràm-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers, Reverse, ll. 1–9
[No. 26472; see above, pp. 9 ff., and Vol. I, chaps. II and III].



Chronicle concerning Sargon, Narâm-Sin, and other early Babylonian rulers, Reverse, ll. 10–15
[No. 26472; see above, pp. 12 ff., and Vol. I, chaps. III and V].



A continuation of the Chronicle concerning early Babylonian rulers, Obverse, ll. 1–8
[No. 96152; see above, pp. 15 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

A continuation of the Chronicle concerning early Babylonian rulers, Obverse, ll. 9–19
[No. 96152; see above, pp. 17 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

A continuation of the Chronicle concerning early Babylonian rulers, Reverse, ll. 1 to 10

[No. 96152; see above, pp. 19 ff., and Vol. I, chaps. III and IV].

A continuation of the Chronicle concerning early Babylonian rulers, Reverse, ll. 11–17
[No. 96152; see above, pp. 22 ff., and Vol. I, chaps. III and IV].

The Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Obverse, ll. 1–14
[K. 2130; see above, pp. 25 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

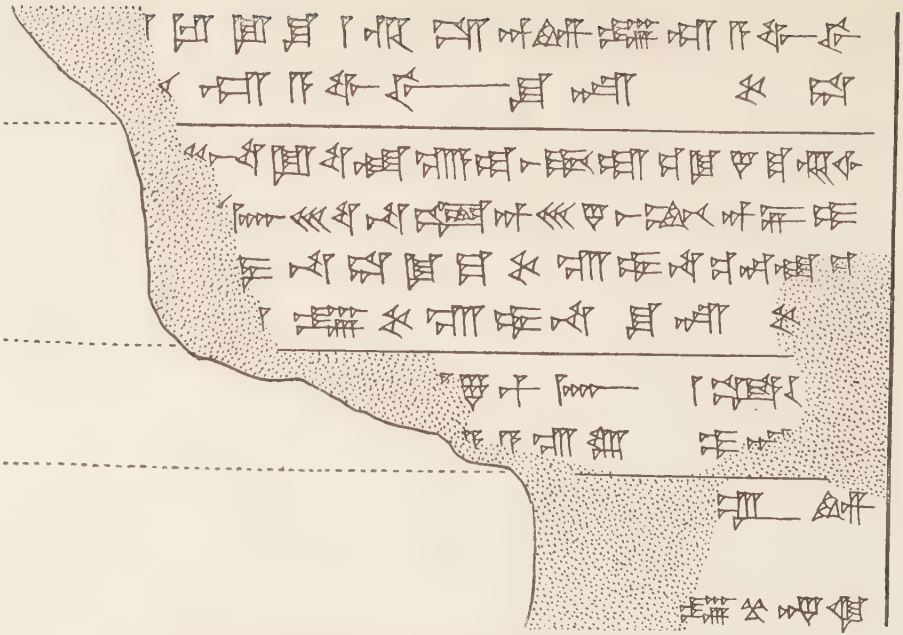
The Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Obverse, ll. 15–26
[K. 2130; see above, pp. 29 ff., and Vol. I, chap. II].

The Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Obverse, ll. 27–38
[K. 2130; see above, pp. 32 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

The Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Reverse, ll. 1-12
[K. 2130; see above, pp. 35 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

§ XIII

§ XIV



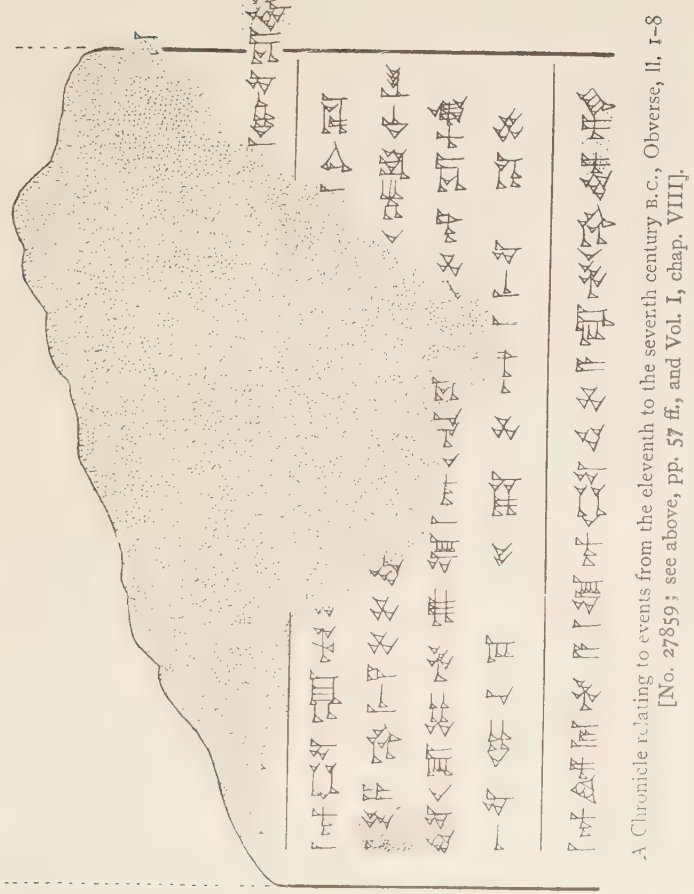
The Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin, Reverse, ll. 13–22
[K. 2130; see above, pp. 37 ff., and Vol. I, chap. II].

A Neo-Babylonian Version of the Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin
[No. 67404, Obverse; see above, pp. 40 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

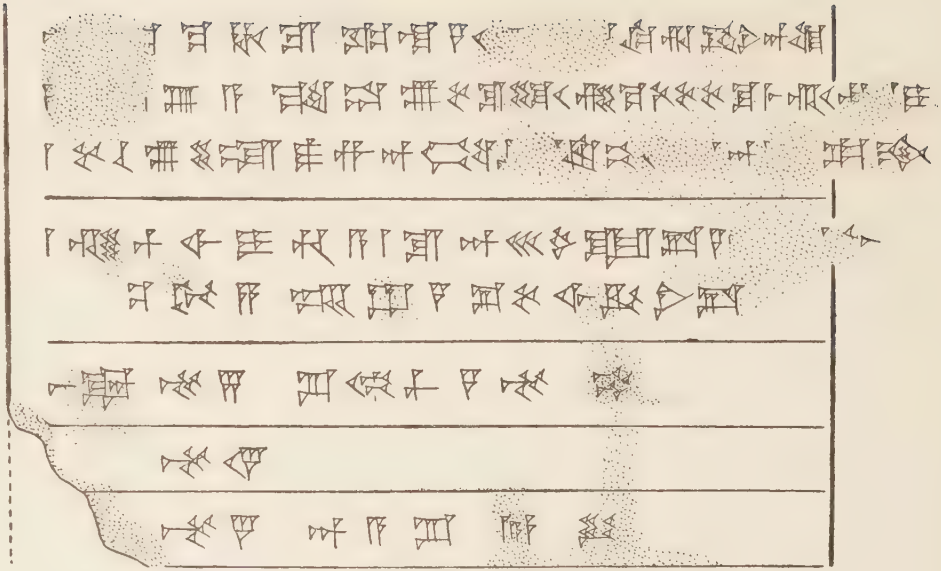
A Neo-Babylonian Version of the Omens of Sargon and Narâm-Sin
[No. 67404, Reverse; see above, pp. 43 ff., and Vol. I, chap. III].

The Chronicle of the Babylonian Dynasties
[K. 8532, etc., Obverse; see above, p. 46 f., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].

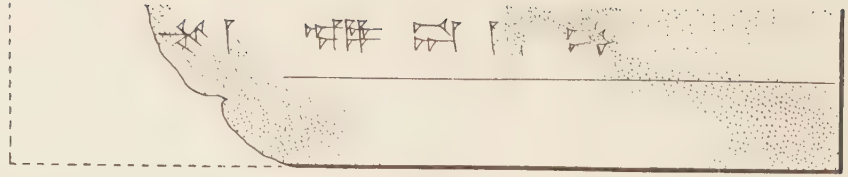
The Chronicle of the Babylonian Dynasties
[K. 8532, etc., Reverse; see above, pp. 48 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VII].



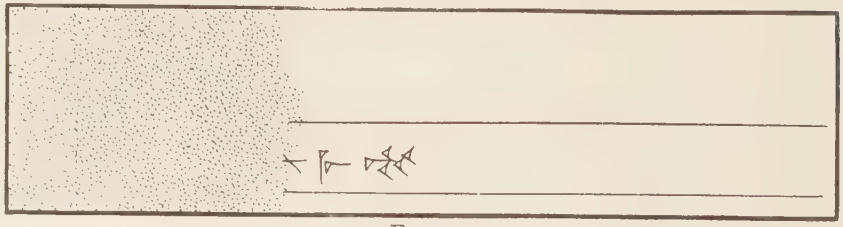
A Chronicle relating to events from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C., Obverse, ll. 1–8
[No. 27859; see above, pp. 57 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].



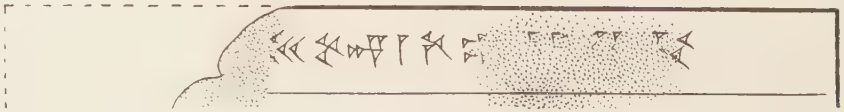
A Chronicle relating to events from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C., Obverse, ll. 9-16
[No. 27859; see above, pp. 59 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].



OBVERSE.



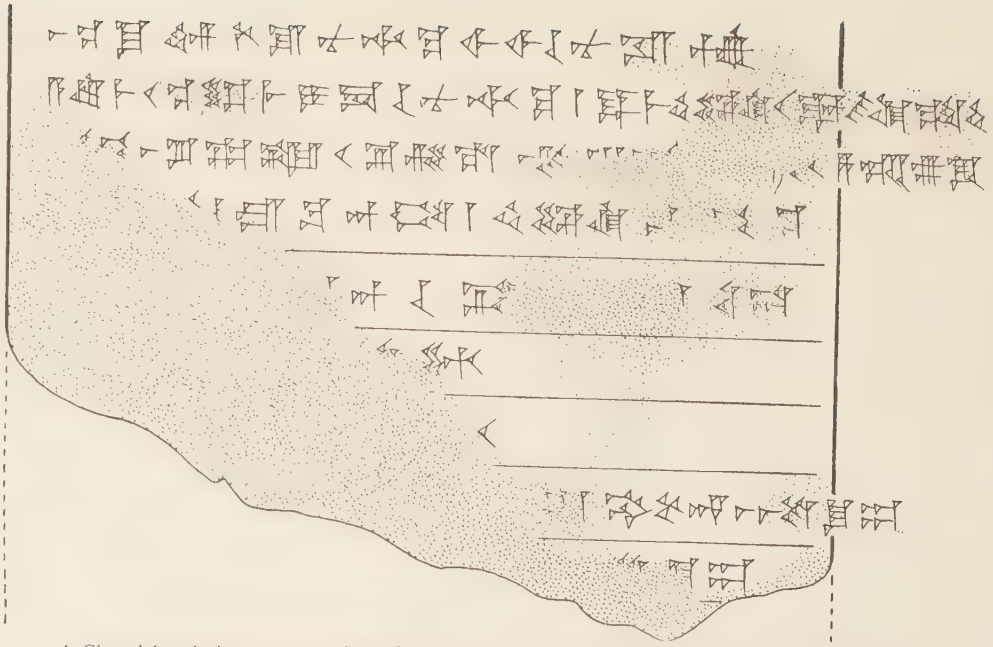
EDGE.



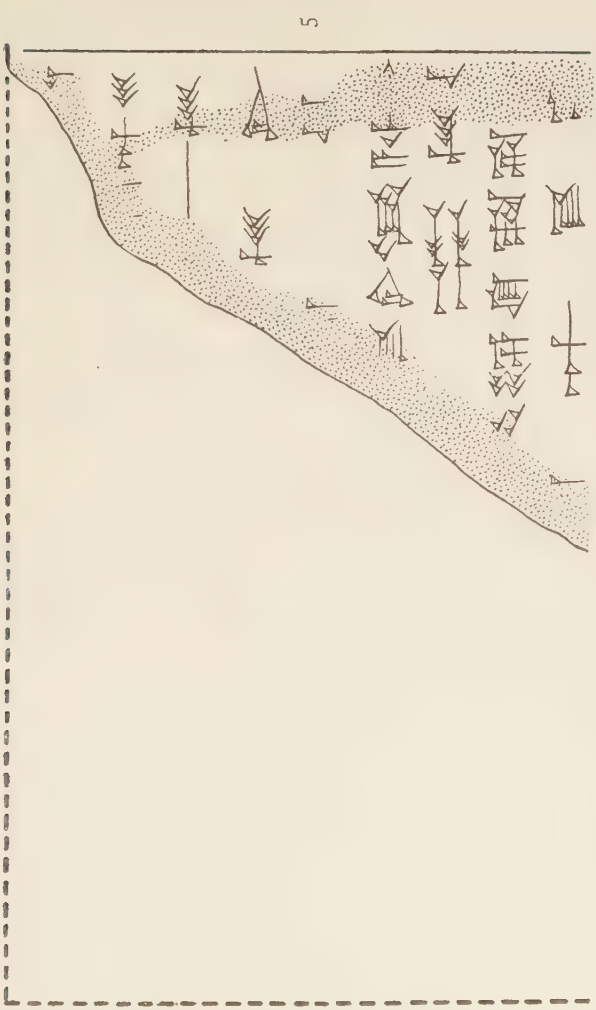
REVERSE.

A Chronicle relating to events from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C., Obv., ll. 17 and 18, Edge, and Rev., l. 1 [No. 27859; see above, p. 62 f., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].

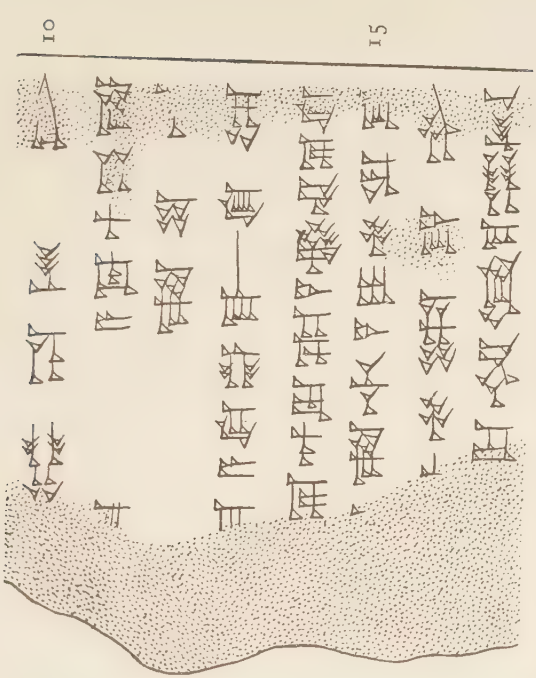
A Chronicle relating to events from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C., Reverse, ll. 2–10
[No. 27859; see above, pp. 64 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].



A Chronicle relating to events from the eleventh to the seventh century B.C., Reverse, ll. 11–19
[No. 27859; see above, pp. 67 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VIII].



A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. I, ll. 1–9
[No. 35968; see above, p. 70 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].



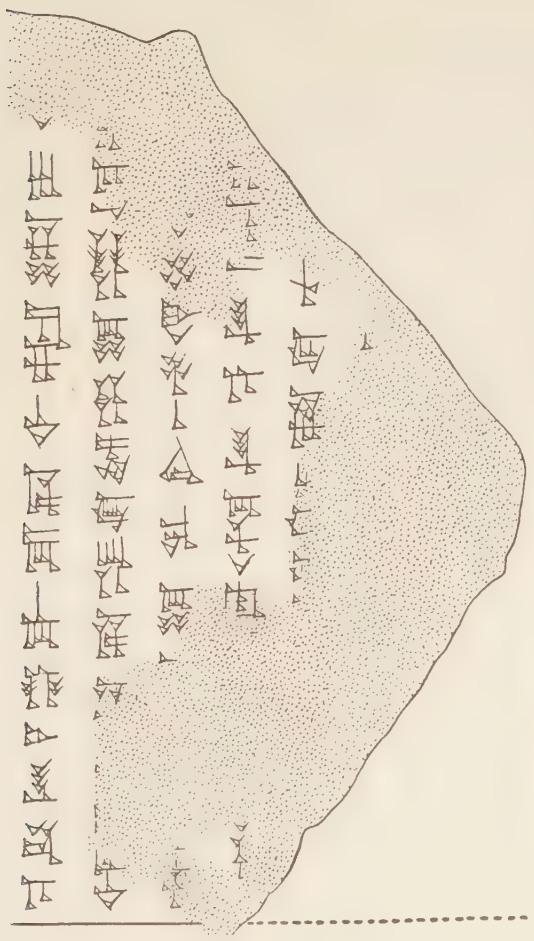
A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. I, ll. 10–17
[No. 35968; see above, p. 71 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].

A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. I, ll. 18–26
[No. 35968; see above, p. 72 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].

A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. II, ll. 1-7
[No. 35968 ; see above, pp. 73 ff., and Vol. I, chap. IX].

A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. II, ll. 8–15
[No. 35968; see above, p. 75 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].

A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Obverse, Col. II, ll. 16–23
[No. 35968; see above, p. 77 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].



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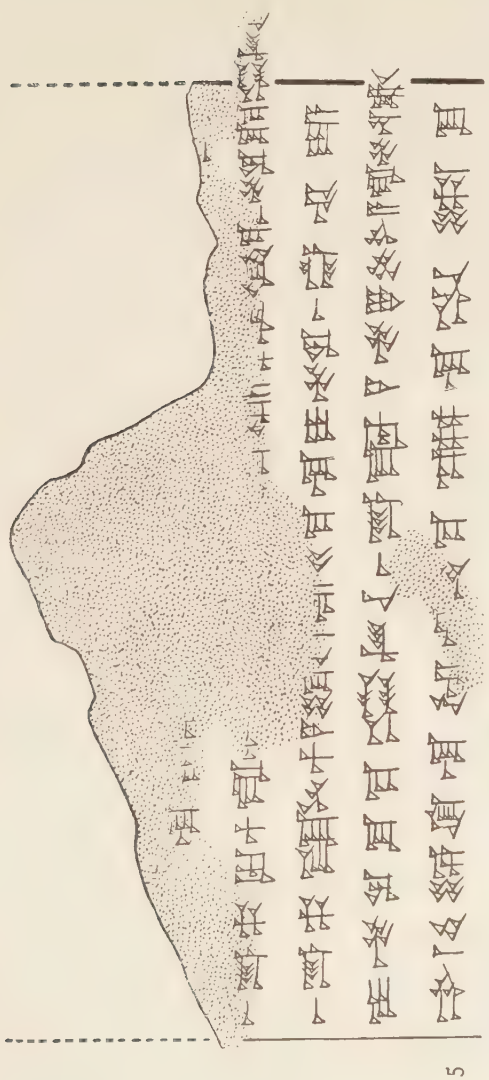

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[No. 35968; see above, p. 80 f., and Vol. I, chap. IX].

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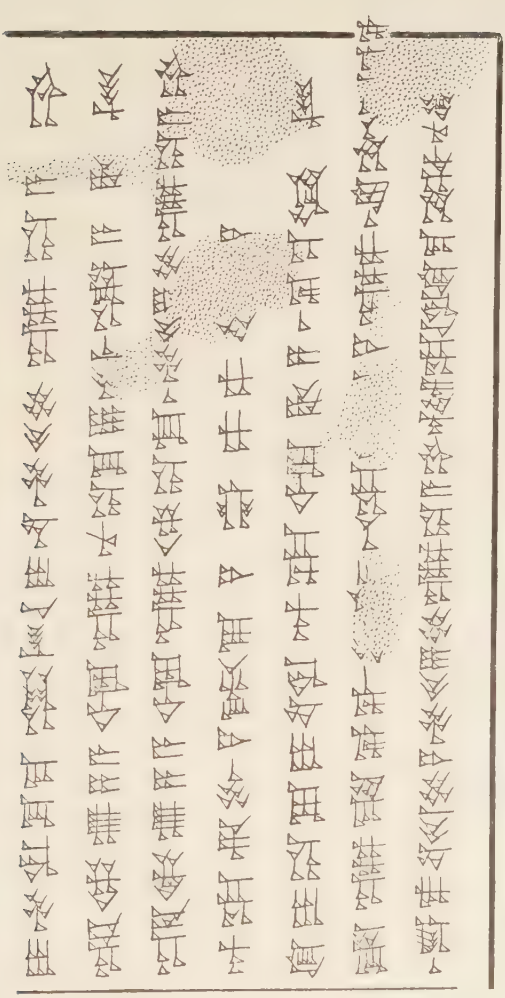

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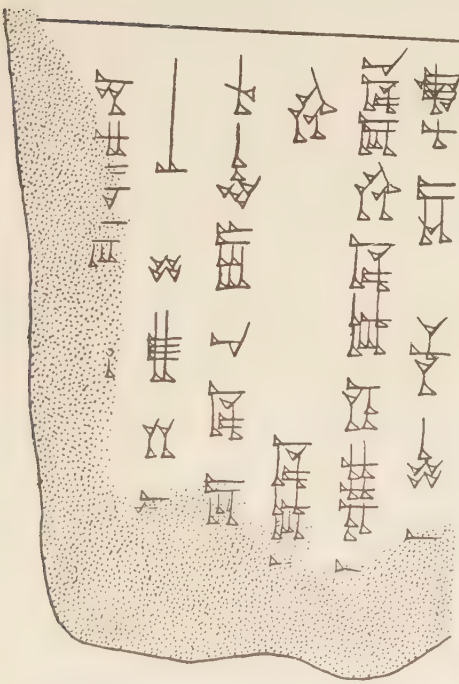

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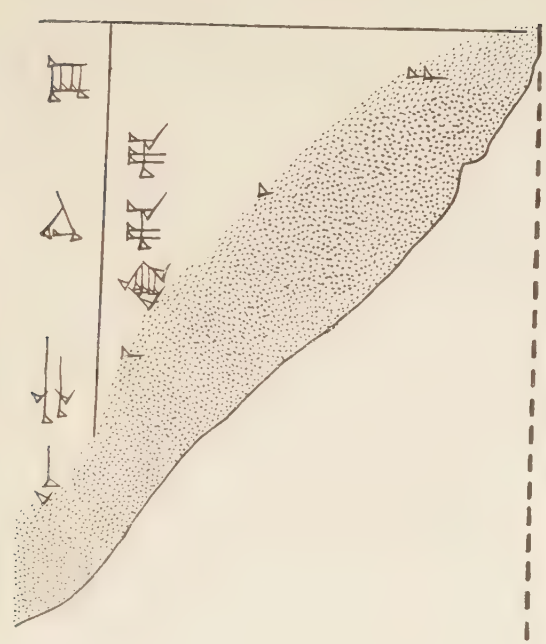

A Babylonian religious Chronicle and Register of Portents, Reverse, Col. IV, ll. 7–10
[No. 35968; see above, p. 86, and Vol. I, chap. IX].

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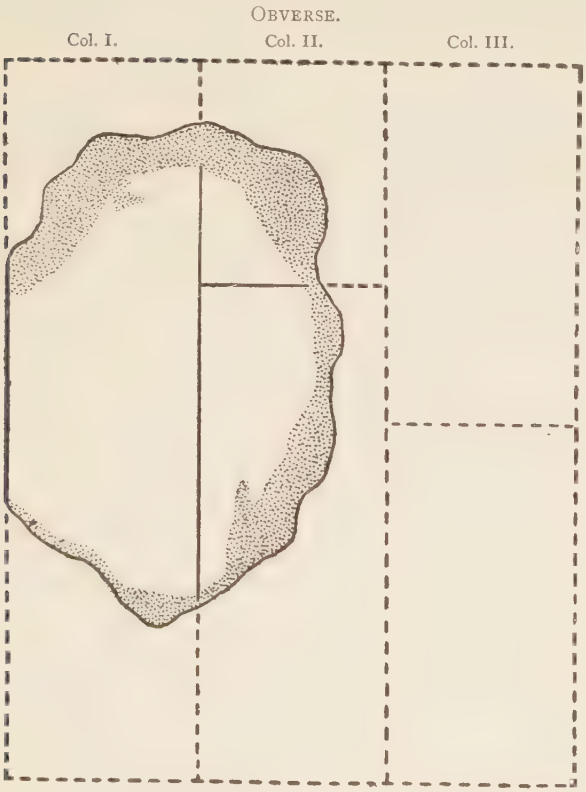
New Date-List of the Kings of the First Dynasty
[see above, pp. 97 ff., and Vol. I, chap. VII].

Plan of the Inscription.



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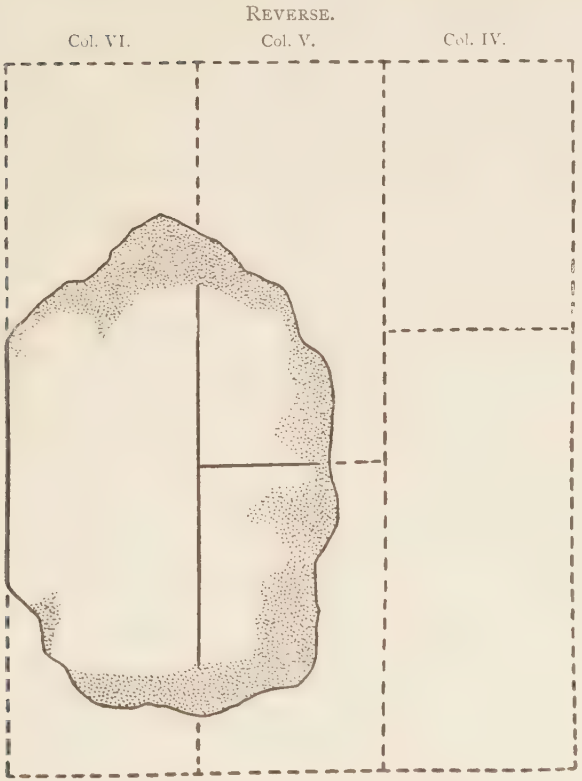

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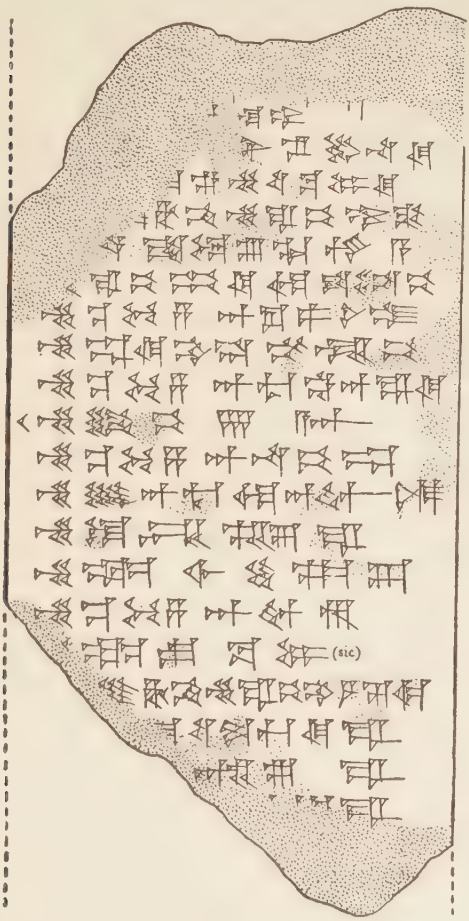

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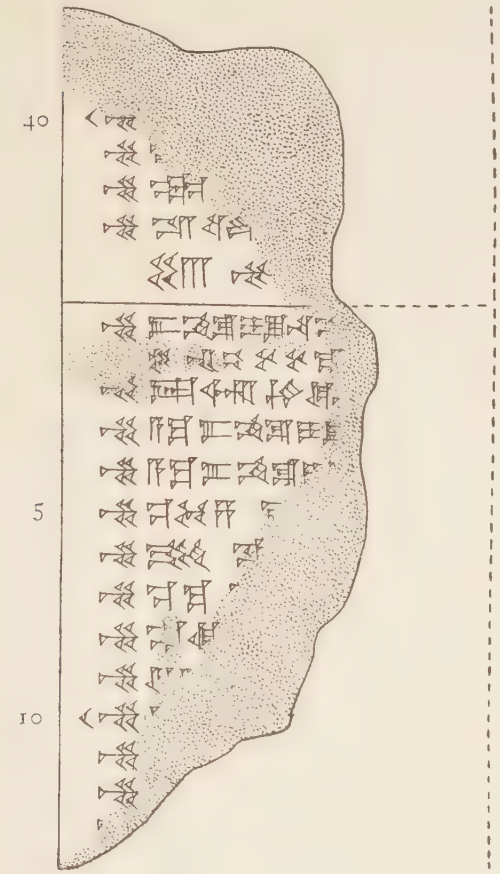

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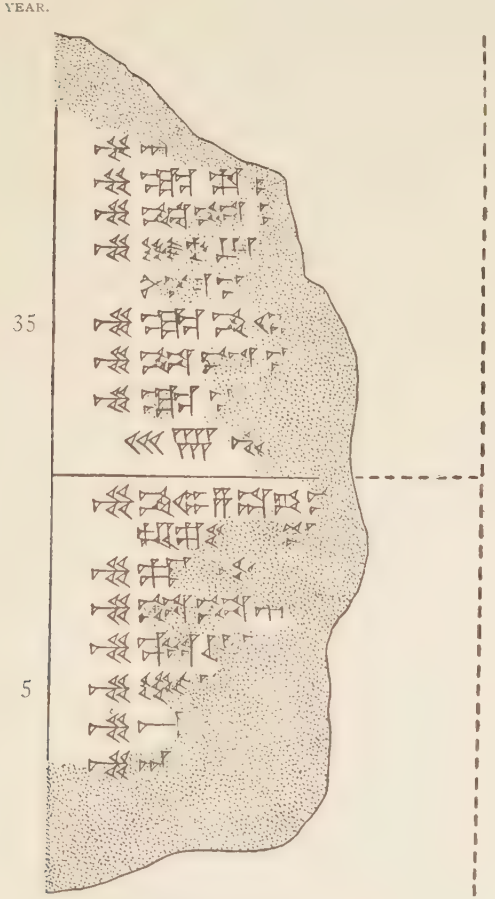

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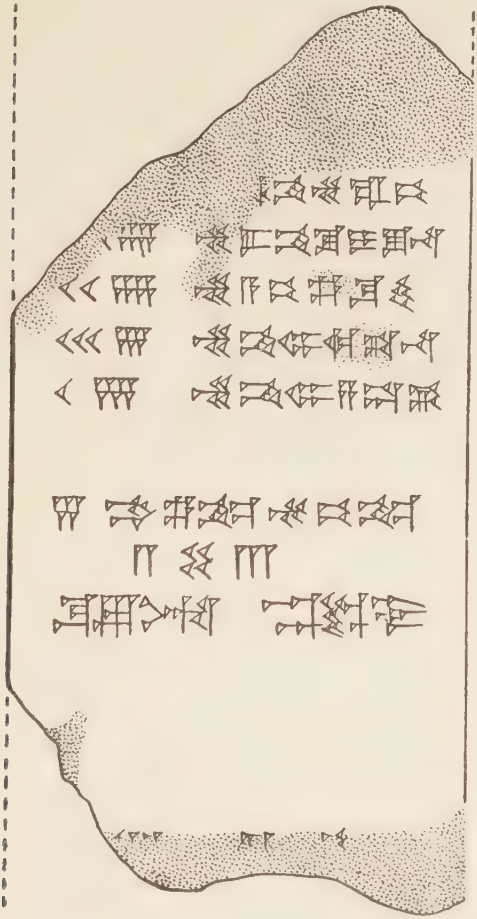

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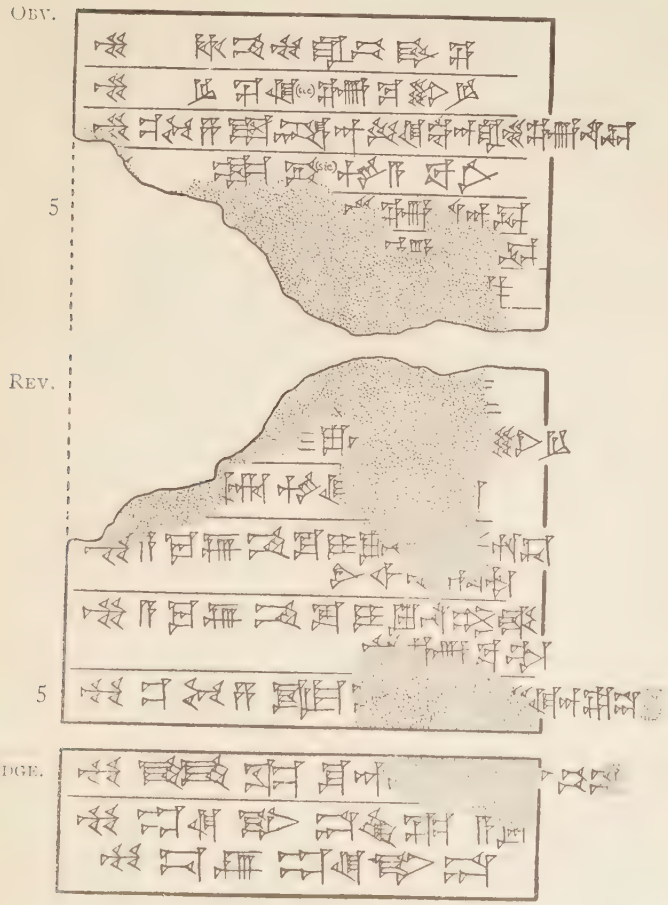
[See above, pp. 97 f., 103 f., and Vol. I, chap. VII.]



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